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ABSTRACT

This report is a first effort of the Missouri Advisory Committee to the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights to determine the current dimensions of race relations in rural areas of Missouri. Callaway County and its county seat, Fulton, are described, and problems faced by blacks in the schools and in obtaining housing and employment are explored, the accessibility of locally and federally funded services is analyzed, and conclusions and recommendations of the advisory committee are outlined. They include: (1) improving communication between the black community and the schools; (2) improving job opportunities for minorities and women through effective affirmative action plans; (3) improving the allocation of local funds and municipal construction efforts in black neighborhoods; and (4) improving relations between the black community and the police department through a community relations program. (Author/EB)

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Race Relations in the "Kingdom" of Callaway

—A report prepared by the Missouri Advisory Committee to the United States Commission on Civil Rights

May 1979

ED177236

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LETTER OF TRANSMITTAL

Missouri Advisory Committee to the
U.S. Commission on Civil Rights
May 1979

MEMBERS OF THE COMMISSION
Arthur S. Flemming, *Chairman*
Stephen Horn, *Vice Chairman*
Frankie Freeman
Manuel Ruiz, Jr.
Murray Saltzman

Louis Nuñez, *Staff Director*

Sirs and Madam:

The Missouri Advisory Committee submits this report of its investigation of race relations in Fulton and Callaway County as part of its responsibility to advise the Commission about civil rights problems within the State.

During our 14-month investigation we interviewed 80 persons, including 19 city and county officials, representatives of the principal employers, and a wide range of citizens from all segments of the community. We also interviewed staff of the U.S. Departments of Housing and Urban Development, the Treasury, Agriculture, the Interior, and the State delegate agencies of the last two.

The Advisory Committee found that the city ordinance implementing the Fulton Commission on Human Rights and Community Relations fails to define or outlaw discrimination and does not set forth remedies and penalties. In addition, the Fulton commission can only accept and deal with complaints forwarded to it by the mayor and city council. The Advisory Committee recommends that the city council by ordinance declare that practices of racial discrimination in employment and public accommodations shall be unlawful. This would require a definition of discriminatory practices, assignment of penalties, and delegation of authority for implementation, as has been done in the city's fair housing ordinance. Furthermore, the Committee recommends that citizens be able to file complaints with the Fulton commission instead of going through the city council.

The Advisory Committee noted that only in 1969 did community leaders take action to end illegal segregation in the sale and rental of housing. As early as 1970 the city of Fulton was aware of inequalities in the quality of housing available to black citizens, but not until 1977 were efforts begun to make the streets and sidewalks of the black neighborhood comparable to those in white neighborhoods. Failure of the U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development (HUD) to fund the city's community development program has limited what the city can do. However, the Advisory Committee urges that the city persist in efforts to obtain funding from all possible sources to carry out the improvement program.

The Advisory Committee found that the Fulton schools are desegregated. However, it received reports of continued problems in communication between the black community and the schools. The Advisory Committee recommends that the school district use the services of such experts as the Missouri State Department of Education's technical assistance unit for school desegregation and the Midwest Race and Sex Desegregation Assistance Center at Kansas State University. In view

of the schools' acknowledged need for additional black teachers and unsuccessful efforts to recruit, the Advisory Committee recommends that the school district expand its geographic area of recruitment beyond the traditional sources.

The Advisory Committee found that minorities still do not have the same job opportunities that are available to whites. The Advisory Committee recommends that all employers develop effective affirmative action programs. Where they find minorities and women underutilized, either in their total work force or in specific job categories, employers should develop goals and timetables for correcting patterns of underutilization.

The Advisory Committee urges the city to adopt a final affirmative action plan, delegating monitoring authority and necessary powers to the Fulton Commission on Human Rights and Community Relations. Furthermore, the Committee urges the county to delegate monitoring of its affirmative action plan to the Fulton commission, by mutual consent of both parties.

In light of the past neglect of public services for the black neighborhood, the Advisory Committee urges that Fulton explore ways to maximize the allocation of local funds and municipal construction efforts in that part of the city.

The Advisory Committee also found a lack of rapport between the black community and the city police department. Therefore, the Committee recommends that the police department, in conjunction with the Fulton Commission on Human Rights and Community Relations, undertake community relations programs to improve this relationship.

We urge you to concur with our recommendations and to assist this Advisory Committee in followup activities.

Respectfully,

Joannne M. Collins, *Chairperson*
Missouri Advisory Committee

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***Not a member of the Advisory Committee when the report was approved

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1. Introduction

In 1965 A. Lee Coleman, president of the Rural Sociological Society, devoted his presidential address to the absence of research on race relations in rural America.[1] He noted that race relations had been completely ignored in the principal texts on rural sociology. Furthermore, he pointed out, during the first 20 years in which *Rural Sociology* had been published there had been only six articles about blacks and six about other ethnic groups, but few of these had focused on intergroup relations. In the succeeding 10 years not much had changed—there had been one publication on ethnic minorities every 2 years. Similarly, Professor Coleman found that the literature on race relations, while full of descriptions of race relations in rural America, contained little analysis of its particular problems.[2]

Professor Coleman offered several explanations for the neglect of race relations by the professionals. To some extent, he stated, rural sociology has been the province of midwesterners and there are few rural blacks, Jews, or Asian Americans in the Midwest. In the Southern States, also home to rural sociologists, Professor Coleman notes:

> It would probably be an oversimplification to say that rural sociologists or those working in the South have been *afraid* [original emphasis] to study race relations; but their employment mainly in State land grant colleges has no doubt been a strong deterrent. Despite the reform beginnings of these colleges and the reform heritage of rural sociologists, it is probably fair to say that these institutions and the rural sociologists working in them have become quite conservative in recent decades so far as involvement in controversial issues is concerned. . . .Then we had a warning, if not a validation of the position many had already taken, in the well-known instance when the U.S. Department of Agriculture's Division of Farm Population and Rural Life was prohibited from making "cultural studies," because of an unfortunate race relations statement in a publication.[3]

Since Professor Coleman's address, little has changed. A review of the standard indexes from 1965 to the present produced one article and one convention paper.

The classic study of race relations in rural America remains John Dollard's *Caste and Class in a Southern Town,* first published in the late 1930s.[4] Its central thesis is that two class structures exist, one for whites and one for blacks, but blacks in any given social class are always inferior to whites in a comparable class and there is substantial separation between the two groups.[5]

Summarizing the literature in 1965, Professor Coleman noted that:

> Rural Negroes have typically accommodated themselves to the prevalent social and class structure or have immigrated from the countryside. . . .It is among the urban and more advantaged Negroes that the integrationist appeal has found its initial and greatest reception.[6]

[1] A. Lee Coleman, "The Rural-Urban Variable in Race Relations," *Rural Sociology,* vol. 30 (1965).
[2] Ibid., pp. 394–95.
[3] Ibid., pp. 396–97.
[4] John Dollard, *Caste and Class in a Southern Town* (New York: Doubleday Anchor, 1949).
[5] Ibid.
[6] Coleman, "The Rural-Urban Variable in Race Relations," p. 403.

Professors David L. Brown and Glen V. Fuguitt in a 1972 article confirm other early research that points to the connection between the size of the nonwhite population in a community and the opportunities available to nonwhites. They argue that as the proportion of nonwhites in the population increases, the status and income of nonwhites also increase.[7]

The only other materials on rural problems are the reports of the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights and its Advisory Committees.[8] The Missouri Advisory Committee last studied rural race relations in 1963. At that time it concluded:

> Whereas no inequities were reported in the use of the ballot, there were practically unanimous reports from. . .[out-State] communities of denials and restrictions in employment, housing, recreation and public accommodations.[9]

A comparison of the sections of the Advisory Committee's 1963 report that deal with rural and urban areas shows the relative lack of pressure for change from black or white leaders in rural areas except in the extreme conditions of the Bootheel. In most rural areas discussed, community leadership on desegregation appears to have been absent.[10]

E. Franklin Frazier's study *On Race Relations,* although substantially dated now, contains hints of some of the problems to be expected. In his late 1940s article on "The Negro Middle Class and Desegregation," Professor Frazier indicated many of the reasons why middle-class blacks at mid-century failed to push for equal opportunity.[11] Although the black middle class has since taken the leadership in the struggle for equal rights, some of the tone and dynamics that Professor Frazier describes may yet remain in rural areas.[12]

In summer 1977 the Missouri Advisory Committee made a preliminary survey of race relations in cities with populations between 2,500 and 15,000 where at least 10 percent of the population is from minority groups. The Advisory Committee heard many complaints from minority persons that they were disadvantaged because of their race. The Committee at its July 1977 meeting selected Fulton as one of the towns in which it would conduct a more extensive investigation. Between December 1977 and September 1978, staff interviewed 80 persons, including 19 city and county officials, representatives of the principal employers, and a wide range of citizens from all segments of the community. It also interviewed staff of the U.S. Departments of Housing and Urban Development, the Treasury, Agriculture, and the Interior and the State delegate agencies of the latter two to determine what effort was being made to ensure nondiscrimination in federally-funded programs. The report that follows must be set in the context of the few academic efforts and long delay between studies of rural Missouri. The report is a first effort to determine the current dimensions of race relations in a rural area.

The report begins with a description of Fulton and Callaway County and a survey of the position of blacks in these environments. It follows with an overview of the state of race relations. The problems faced by blacks in the schools and in obtaining housing and employment are explored. The accessibility of locally and federally-funded services is then analyzed.

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[7] David L. Brown and Glenn V. Fuguitt, "Percent Nonwhite and Racial Disparity in Nonmetropolitan Cities in the South," *Social Science Quarterly,* vol. 53, no. 3 (December 1972), pp. 573–82.

[8] Among the more recent Commission and Advisory Committee publications dealing with rural areas are *The Unfinished Business: Twenty Years Later. . .* (1977); *How Far Have We Come?* (1975); *The Voting Rights Act: Ten Years After* 1975); *The Tuskegee Study* (1973); *Civil Rights and the Housing and Community Development Act of 1974* (1976); *Blacks in the Arkansas Delta* (1974); *Cairo, Illinois: A Symbol of Racial Polarization* (1973); *Cairo, Illinois: Racism at Floodtide* (1973).

[9] U.S., Commission on Civil Rights, Missouri Advisory Committee, *A Report of the Missouri Advisory Committee to the United States Commission on Civil Rights* (June 1963), p. 39 (hereafter cited as *Report of the Missouri Advisory Committee*). The official manual of the State of Missouri for 1973–74 contains a study of the role of blacks in the State. However, this does not deal extensively with rural race problems. See Lorenzo J. Greene, Antonio F. Holland, and Gary Kremer, "The Role of the Negro in Missouri History—1919–1970," State of Missouri, *Official Manual, 1973–1974* (Jefferson City, Mo.: State of Missouri, 1973), pp. 1–35. See also Loretta J. Williams, "Rural Black Missouri: Missouri's Forgotten People" (speech presented at Fifth Annual Conference, Missouri Black Leadership Association, St. Louis, Mo., Sept. 23, 1978).

[10] *Report of the Missouri Advisory Committee.*

[11] E. Franklin Frazier, *On Race Relations* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1968), pp. 292ff.

[12] Ibid.

2. The Setting

Fulton is the county seat of Callaway County, one of eight counties in the mid-Missouri region that includes Audrain, Boone, Callaway, Cole, Cooper, Howard, Moniteau, and Osage. Located north of the Missouri river, Callaway County, named for a grandson of Daniel Boone, was established in 1820 although settlement began as early as 1808. The first American settlers came in 1815.[1] It was rapidly settled by migrants from Kentucky, Virginia, and Tennessee who brought slaves and slavery with them. Early settlers reached Fulton between 1809 and 1821. The town was laid out in 1825 and incorporated in 1859. W. Francis English and Priscilla Evans state, "With this preponderance of southern influence, the majority of these counties aligned themselves with the attitudes, values, and goals of the antebellum South. This posture eventually earned the counties north of the Missouri River the nickname of 'Little Dixie'."[2] By 1860, 24 percent of the population of the county were slaves. Howard, Callaway, and Boone Counties ranked among the top five slave counties in the State.[3] Oppression of slaves has been reported.[4]

The Civil War not only divided the county but brought war and a new name to the area. In October 1862 a Federal army under Col. T.J.C. Fagg approached the county from the east. It was met by a Confederate army commanded by Col. Jefferson Jones. The two parties agreed to a treaty whereby the United States agreed not to invade Callaway County and Callaway County agreed not to invade the United States. The county became known as the "Kingdom of Callaway." But in November 1862 Federal troops did invade Callaway County, occupying Fulton.[5]

In 1946 Fulton's Westminster College (established in 1851) became famous as the site of Winston Churchill's "iron curtain" speech.[6] The city is widely believed to be the location portrayed in Henry Bellamann's 1940 novel *King's Row*.[7] Contemporary Fulton is described in its 1975 city directory as "conservative and proud." The directory points with pride to the way "through the years community leaders have held the reins and guided the community, maintaining a stable economy."[8]

Fulton is located a few miles south of Interstate Highway 70, 135 miles from Kansas City and 115 miles from St. Louis. It is 18 miles north of Jefferson City, the State capital, and a similar distance southeast of Columbia, home of the main campus of the University of Missouri. Both cities serve as employment hubs of the mid-Missouri region. Fulton is chartered as a third-class city by the State. The county became a second-class county, effective January 1, 1979. It had been a third-class county during this study.[9]

Fulton's 1970 population of 12,148 persons was nearly one-half of the Callaway County population

[1] Charles William Kerr, "Politics and Ideology in the Kingdom of Callaway" (Ph.D. thesis, University of Missouri-Columbia, June 1963) pp. 29–30.
[2] W.F. English and P. Evans, "Area Description and History," in Paul Lutz and Ralph Utermoehlen, *Mid-Missouri Regional Profile* (Columbia, Mo.: University of Missouri-Columbia, Extension Division, 1973), p. 6.
[3] Ibid.
[4] Kerr, "Politics and Ideology in the Kingdom of Callaway," p. 33.
[5] Ibid., pp. 36–40.
[6] Ibid., p. 56.
[7] Ibid., pp. 47–54.
[8] Fulton, Mo., city directory (Loveland, Colo.: Johnson Publishing Co., 1975), n.p.
[9] George Carrington, telephone interview, Jan. 29, 1979.

of 25,850. While census records show that the county's population peaked in 1900 at 25,984, recent data indicate that the construction of a nuclear power plant, 10 miles east of Fulton, has resulted in an increase in the Callaway County population to 31,000.[10] The population of the city of Fulton has increased steadily, from 4,883 in 1900 to 12,148 in 1970.[11]

Data from a sample survey by the Central Electric Power Cooperative show that in July 1970, 18.9 percent of the working population of Fulton were professionals, technicians, or managers; 23.3 percent had clerical or sales jobs; 23.9 percent, service jobs; 4 percent, farming, fishery, and forestry; 0.3 percent, processing; 5.6 percent, machine trades; 2.7 percent, benchwork; 11 percent, structural work; 10.2 percent, miscellaneous work. About 10 percent of those working traveled at least 18 miles to work (the distance to Jefferson City or Columbia).[12]

Although farming is important to Callaway County, the principal sources of employment in Fulton are the construction work on the nuclear power plant (2,940 employees) and two State institutions, the Missouri School for the Deaf (202 employees) and the Fulton State Hospital (1,400 employees), which treats the mentally ill. Other significant employers are two refractories where bricks are manufactured—Harbison-Walker, with 400 employees, and A.P. Green, with 105 employees. Other employers include Stride Rite Company (children's shoes) with 250 employees; Danuser Machine Company (manufacturer of farm implements), 86 employees; Central Electric Company (switch gear manufacturer), 100 employees; Ovid Bell Press, Inc. (printer of magazines and books), 62 employees; and the two colleges, Westminster and William Woods, 155 and 230 employees, respectively. A local hospital, Callaway County Memorial Hospital, has 145 employees, and there are a number of small employers—retail shops, restaurants, service facilities, financial institutions, and local governments.[13]

Fulton is governed by a mayor and council. Other officials are: city attorney, city counselor, comptroller, police chief, fire chief, city engineer, superintendent of utilities, director of parks and recreation, health officer and building inspector, police judge, and city clerk. The city contracts with the county for assessor and collector services.[14] Callaway County government is administered by a three-judge county court, a circuit clerk, clerk of the county court, recorder of deeds, prosecuting attorney, sheriff, collector of revenue, assessor, treasurer, medical examiner, public administrator, and county surveyor.[15] Although the county court sets tax rates, appropriates county funds, and maintains property (of which the roads are the most important), each elected official is autonomous.[16]

Until recently, old ways characterized local politics and decisionmaking.[17] For many years the mayor of Fulton was W.C. "Pat" Murphy, while his brother Paul Murphy was presiding judge of the county. Mayor Murphy was defeated for reelection in spring 1978 by George Oestreich, a city council member and local pharmacist. Principal leaders in the town, in addition to the new mayor, are the presidents of the local banks, the heads of some of the larger companies, the publishers of the local newspapers, several attorneys, and the circuit judge.[18] An observer noted that one group of town leaders had been quite content with the stable but stagnant economic situation in the town in which institutions provided most employment. The institutions provide steady work, but at low wages. An influx of private development would result in higher wages and could disturb the current patterns of leadership.[19]

[10] U.S., Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, *General Population Characteristics: Missouri* (PC(1)-B18), table 16; Jack Cook, interview in Fulton, Mar. 29, 1978.
[11] Lutz and Utermoehlen, *Mid-Missouri Regional Profile*, p. 27, table P-5.
[12] Data supplied by Central Electric Power Cooperative, on file in Central States Regional Office, U.S. Commission on Civil Rights.
[13] Fulton Chamber of Commerce, n.d. For Daniel International, the company's more recent data is reported. Later in the report, the data reported by other companies is used in preference to chamber of commerce data.
[14] Fulton City Council, interview in Fulton, Dec. 11, 1978.
[15] Missouri, Secretary of State, *Roster of State, District and County Officers* (Columbia, Mo.: Kelley Press, 1977).
[16] Robert F. Karsch, *The Government of Missouri* (Columbia, Mo.: Lucas Bros., 1976), pp. 204–09.
[17] Jack Cook, interview in Fulton, Mar. 29, 1978.
[18] Data from staff interviews in Fulton, weeks of Nov. 11, 1977, Mar. 27, 1978, June 26, 1978, and Sept. 11, 1978.
[19] Jack Cook, interview in Fulton, Mar. 29, 1978.

3. The Black Communities of Fulton and Callaway County

Blacks were brought to Callaway County as slaves. Prof. Lorenzo Greene of Lincoln University told the Advisory Committee that in 1860 slaves were 25.9 percent of the county's population. Between 1850 and 1860 slaveholding increased from an average of 4.8 to 5.34 per white household. But in fact only about half the white families were slaveholders. Compared to slaves elsewhere, blacks in Callaway County were well treated. But, Professor Greene said, such was white fear of blacks that in 1860 there were only 63 black free persons. Professor Greene asserted that the county to this day is trying to rid itself of the legacy of prejudice that slavery created. During the Civil War, Fulton was a major recruiting center for blacks wishing to serve with the Union forces.[1] The first black churches, Calvary Baptist and St. James Methodist, were established in 1866. Other black churches were established later.[2] These churches remain the principal unifying forces of the local black community.

Blacks constitute the only significant minority population in the county. In 1970 Callaway County had a black population of 1,916, 7.4 percent of the county population of 25,850. Three-quarters (1,423) of the county's black population lived in the city of Fulton, where they were 11.7 percent of its population of 12,148.[3]

There has been an exodus of blacks from Callaway County. While the number of white persons in the population of the county increased by 37.1 percent between 1930 and 1970, the number of nonwhite persons in the population declined by 21.1 percent. The proportion of nonwhites also declined. Similarly, the number of persons 21 and over who are white increased 27 percent between 1930 and 1970, while the number who are nonwhite decreased 23.6 percent.[4]

According to one local observer, 95 percent of the black community in Fulton is concentrated in an area on the northwestern end of town, including parts of census enumeration districts 23, 24, and 25 (3 of 18 enumeration districts in the city). The area is still sometimes referred to as "Nigger Town."[5]

Blacks have not always lived in northwestern Fulton. Prior to about 1915 the black neighborhood was located on the southern end of downtown, which also contained a black-owned pool hall, barbershop, restaurant, funeral home, and the offices of a black doctor. However, in 1915, using the excuse that the city wanted to build a park, blacks were evicted and moved together with their houses to the present neighborhood. While black businesses were not evicted, they naturally followed their clientele.[6]

[1] Lorenzo Greene, telephone interview, Aug. 31, 1978.
[2] Troy Bradford, interview in Fulton, Sept. 12, 1978.
[3] U.S., Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, *General Population Characteristics: Missouri* (PC(1)-B-27), tables 34, 28.
[4] Paul Lutz and Ralph Utermoehlen, *Mid-Missouri Regional Profile* (Columbia, Mo.: University of Missouri-Columbia, Extension Division, 1973), table P-4-1, p. 15.
[5] Wallace Bloss, interview in Fulton, Nov. 11, 1977.
[6] Troy Bradford, interview in Fulton, Sept. 12, 1978.

The city's community development block grant preapplication to the U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development indicates that in 1977 in the target area there were "serious deficiencies in the city's public facilities." This area included parts of enumeration districts 23, 24, 25, and 26, mostly black residential areas. The deficiencies cited include:

> sidewalks, streets, and storm drainage [that] are in need of development and/or improvement.
>
> open ditches [run] in front of housing units. These ditches usually are filled with litter and stagnant water. As presently constituted, they are unhealthy and unsightly. Portions of the neighborhood target area have absolutely no sidewalks at all. In other portions of the NTA [neighborhood target area], there are deteriorating sidewalks in need of rehabilitation. Streets are also in a deteriorating condition. In some portions, access routes are incapable of handling two moving lanes of traffic. Because streets and sidewalks are in need of significant rehabilitation, serious deficiencies are readily apparent from the hazards to pedestrians, particularly children, and from the unsightly appearance. . . .
>
> A serious deficiency exists in the city's firefighting capability, particularly as it relates to the neighborhood target area. The City Fire Chief estimates that seven full minutes are needed to reach the low income area to extinguish fires. With traffic obstacles, response time can take longer. As in most cities, the overwhelming number of destructive fires occur in the low income areas. . . .
>
> Enlargement of the Community Center is a necessity generated by a large number of demands by citizen groups for increased use of the facility. The majority of these groups are elderly and/or low and moderate income groups. At the present time, many of these groups must use churches, when they are available, for meetings. Use of the Community Center would bring these groups into more contact and communication with organizations from all over the city. An enlargement of the center would eliminate a serious deficiency in the city's facility and perhaps end the alienation of these groups from the city.[7]
>
> Danger to health and safety currently exists as basketball facilities are located near streets. The softball fields are in need of extensive repair. At present, the soil has been distorted causing dust and dirt to blow freely through the neighborhood area. The park is used heavily by low income residents who live within easy walking distance. The proposed improvements will eliminate dangers to the safety of the children, will eliminate blowing dust and dirt, and will improve the physical appearance of the park and subsequently the immediate neighborhood.[8]

According to the city's application, there are also houses in the area in "slum and/or blight" condition.

Statements cited in a subsequent chapter of this report indicate the extent to which blacks have been locked into this depressed area. With the election of Russell Logan and Wilma Jones as fourth ward council members and the subsequent election of a new mayor, George Oestreich, efforts began to remedy these problems. However, HUD's rejection of the proposed comprehensive block grant prevents more than a beginning of any effort to upgrade the black neighborhood.[9]

In 1969 over half of the black workers in the city of Fulton (54.7 percent) and in the balance of Callaway County (51.1 percent) were in service occupations. Professionals and technical and kindred workers were 6.1 percent of the black work force of Fulton, 1.7 percent in the balance of the county work force; no black managers or administrators lived in the city, but they were 2.8 percent of the county's black work force. Sales workers were 3.6 percent of the city, absent from the county; clericals were 5.0 percent of the city, absent in the county; craftsworkers (skilled) were 5.3 percent of the city and 9 percent of the county; operatives were 13.0 percent of the city and 9.6 percent of the county; transportation workers were 1.4 percent of the city and 6.2 percent of the county; laborers were 9.1 percent of the city and 12.4 percent of the county. Farmers were absent from the city and 3.4 percent of the county; farm laborers were 1.9 percent of the city and 3.9 percent of the county. Service workers were 46.1 percent of the city and 44.4 percent of the

[7] Cecil Culverhouse, in a letter to Joanne Collins, Nov. 29, 1978, said: One of the problems in most communities, and certainly in this one, is that we have a great many public buildings which are underused. Especially in light of capital needs for facilities such as jail facilities, we need to be carefull about building more public meeting space. In light of energy conservation, the need for any additional public building should be carefully scrutinized. Therefore, while I do not necessarily oppose an enlargement of the community center, I do not think the need has yet been clearly demonstrated.

[8] Fulton, Mo., *Comprehensive Multi-Year Community Development Project, Pre-application,* May 1, 1978, Secs. 570.424(e)(1)(i), 570.424(e)(1)(vii).

[9] George L. Oestreich, telephone interview, Aug. 24, 1978.

county; household workers were 8.6 percent of the city and 6.7 percent of the county.[10] There are self-employed black construction contractors, lawn and excavation contractors, truckers, and electrical appliance repairmen.[11] One black entrepreneur pointed out that fewer young black families can assemble the capital to start a business than can young white families.[12]

The black median income in the city of Fulton ($5,016) was 60.3 percent of the median income for all Fulton residents ($8,314). The black median income in Callaway County ($5,519) was 69.9 percent of the median income of all county residents ($7,898).[13]

The principal leaders of the black community are city council member Russell Logan and Jack McBride, president of the local NAACP chapter.[14] Mr. McBride noted that there is apathy on the part of many blacks who have "made it." He asserts that some apparently feel they would jeopardize themselves by speaking out.[15] Mr. Logan attributes part of the problem to the fact that many middle-class blacks live in Fulton but work elsewhere.[16] The editor of the *Sun-Gazette,* Rick Rabenau, told staff that it is unfortunate that only Jack McBride does much work for black interests.[17] Jack McBride is often ignored, according to another white observer.[18] If more blacks were active, it was asserted, town leaders would be more sensitive to the needs of the black community.[19] According to the former head of the local antipoverty effort, Wallace Bloss, "The town has trouble getting blacks out to civic meetings" and therefore the majority of whites believes that the black community is uninterested, "part of which is probably true." But Wallace Bloss noted that the meetings were always held in the court house or city hall, which may have had an inhibiting effect on black attendance, and no effort had been made to hold meetings at sites near the minority community—such as in the community center of the public housing authority building—until the election of Mayor Oestreich in April 1978.[20] City council member Wilma Jones said that she and Russell Logan have been holding fourth ward meetings at the community center and most of those attending have been black. She asserted that these meetings have "proven a strong influence on the city."[21] *Sun-Gazette* editor Rick Rabenau has offered to make space available for a weekly column by a black community leader commenting on the black perspective.[22]

There are differences of opinion within the black community. One leader said, without necessarily agreeing, "The reality is that many black people feel identified with keeping 'our park,' 'our school'." Some were bitter when Carver was no longer the black school,[23] although leaders such as Jack McBride had fought for desegregation. Rev. Cato Sims commented that many of Fulton's black residents will not "talk up for themselves" because they are afraid it might backfire to their disadvantage.[24]

Prior to the election of Mayor Oestreich, there was one black member on one of the nine city committees and boards. Following an invitation from the new mayor for citizens to apply for appointments, blacks were represented on four city committees and boards.[25] Now there is one black on the zoning board of appeal, one on the police personnel board, four on the commission on human rights, and one on the parks and recreation board. There are still no blacks on the planning and zoning board, board of public works, and Fulton Housing Authority Commission.[26] The mayor reported that he asked three black residents to serve on the housing authority, all of whom declined. He therefore reappointed the sitting member.[27]

[10] U.S., Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, *General Social and Economic Characteristics: Missouri* (PC(1)–C27), tables 110 and 127.
[11] Russell Logan, interview in Fulton, Mar. 28, 1978; Elvin Richmond, interview in Fulton, Mar. 28, 1978.
[12] Mr. and Mrs. James Nevins, interview in Fulton, Sept. 12, 1978.
[13] U.S., Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, *General Social and Economic Characteristics: Missouri,* tables 111, 128, 107, 124.
[14] Staff interviews in Fulton, weeks of Nov. 11, 1977, Mar. 27, 1978, June 26, 1978, Sept. 11, 1978.
[15] Jack McBride, interview in Jefferson City, Mar. 29, 1978.
[16] Russell Logan, interview in Fulton, Mar. 28, 1978.
[17] Rick Rabenau, interview in Fulton, Mar. 28, 1978.
[18] Wallace Bloss, interview in Fulton, Nov. 11, 1977.
[19] Rick Rabenau, interview in Fulton, Mar. 28, 1978.
[20] Wallace Bloss, interview in Fulton, Nov. 11, 1977; letter to staff, Oct. 23, 1978.
[21] Wilma Jones, letter to staff, Oct. 31, 1978.
[22] Rick Rabenau, interview in Fulton, Mar. 28, 1978.
[23] Interview in Fulton, June 29, 1978.
[24] Cato Sims, interview in Fulton, Nov. 16, 1977.
[25] Data supplied by city of Fulton: "Standing Committees" (1977-78) and "Committee Appointments" (July 7, 1978).
[26] Ibid.
[27] George L. Oestreich, letter to staff, Dec. 19, 1978.

4. Race Relations in Fulton

The Missouri Advisory Committee has noted before the absence of academic research on race relations in small, rural areas. Writing about communities generally comparable to Fulton in size, minority population, and location, the Advisory Committee reported that in 1963 in Mexico, another town in the mid-Missouri area, about 21 miles from Fulton, there were no efforts to bring black and white people together. The Committee reported that in Mexico there was discrimination in employment, housing (both in the public and private sectors), segregated recreation facilities, exclusion of blacks from hotels, motels, and restaurants, and insufficient efforts to desegregate the schools.[1]

Desegregation of public facilities in Fulton began in 1961.[2] Racial discrimination and violence against blacks who crossed racial barriers in Fulton and Callaway County have persisted until quite recently, Jack McBride reports in his book, *The Search.* He mentions that in 1924 when one of his uncles attempted to move from a dirt-floored log cabin to a better house in an all-white neighborhood, the new house was burned down.[3] The public library was not open to blacks until the late 1950s. About 1966 or 1967 the last point of resistance, a bar, was desegregated.[4] At Auxvasse, a small town in Callaway County, in 1973 a black family moved from "the other side" of the tracks into an all-white neighborhood. Their house was firebombed while they slept. Mr. McBride reports that "no arrests were made after an investigation by law enforcement officials." Nor did a grand jury, demanded by the NAACP, identify the culprits.[5] In 1968 the then magistrate judge sentenced a black man to a $500 fine and 1 year in jail for allowing an unlicensed person to drive his car. According to Mr. McBride, the real offense that emerges from the court records is that there was a relationship between the black man and the white woman who drove the car.[6]

One black resident summed up the views of many longtime black residents of Fulton when she described race relations until recently by saying: "We knew our place. We stayed in our place and made the best of it we could. We worked with what we had and made our livings."[7]

The black and white communities have different perspectives on present-day race relations in Fulton. One black person summarized the views of others saying, "Fulton is still a prejudiced little town. It's the way they deal with blacks."[8] Another remarked that some of the whites she worked with still used the word "nigger" as a matter of course.[9] Even the most satisfied blacks accept the present in the light of the past. At the other extreme, a white leader asserted: "We have never had any problems in Fulton. We were all brought up together. We are not like big cities where they have problems."[10]

[1] *Report of the Missouri Advisory Committee, pp. 2–5.*
[2] Charles William Kerr, "Politics and Ideology in the Kingdom of Callaway" (Ph.D. thesis, University of Missouri-Columbia, 1963), p. 225.
[3] Jack McBride, *The Search* (Fulton, Mo.; n.p., n.d.) The Fulton city council comments that "the information in the book is not substantiated and can only be accepted as one man's opinion." (George Oestreich, letter to staff, Dec. 19, 1978.)
[4] Mr. and Mrs. James Nevins, interview in Fulton, Sept. 12, 1978.
[5] McBride, *The Search,* pp. 84–85.
[6] Ibid., pp. 82–84.
[7] Interviews in Fulton, Sept. 12, 1978.
[8] Interview in Fulton, June 29, 1978.
[9] Ollie Johnson, interview in Fulton, June 29, 1978.
[10] William Kennett, interview in Fulton, Mar. 28, 1978.

Many whites believe race relations in Fulton are good. The city attorney points out that there has been no "open strife" in Fulton between the races.[11] Former Mayor W.C. "Pat" Murphy asserted that "black people are getting along well."[12] Chief of Police W.W. Lewis said that there are no serious problems between the races in Fulton. He explained that this is because everybody knows everyone else in town.[13] A similar view is taken by Dr. James Ritterbusch, director of the Fulton State Hospital, who told the Advisory Committee's staff that while some of the older people may still retain racial prejudices, no lines have been drawn by younger people. He believes race relations have been "good" since the 1960s.[14]

These views are not shared by all white leaders. Rev. Cecil G. Culverhouse, a local minister, told the Advisory Committee that contacts between whites and blacks seem to have decreased since the late 1960s because blacks perceive no benefits from such contact.[15] The former director of the ecumenical ministries, Rev. Robert H. Bullock, told staff that Fulton's black and white communities are two separate societies. He reported that the black community is "inwardly oriented" and quite self-contained.[16] Reverend Bullock concluded that, all things considered, there is a "general level of civility" about race relations in Fulton that is better than average.[17]

Many blacks take a tolerant view of race relations. One black minister, Rev. W.L. Jenkins, pointed out that black people in Fulton go back to Civil War days and most have made an accommodation to the system of relations in Fulton.[18] A black contractor, Elvin Richmond, said that race relations in the town have improved considerably over the last few years.[19] A black resident, Frank Taylor, asserted that to keep bringing up the past regarding segregation would serve no useful purpose—he believes that blacks can go anywhere in the community without any problems. He said that blacks feel comfortable going into any club or bar and that blacks can live wherever they wish.[20]

Prof. Lorenzo Greene, the eminent historian of black history in Missouri, told the Advisory Committee that blacks are members of the Kiwanis (which has had a black president), Lions, and Optimists, but none are in the Rotary Club.[21] Rev. Cecil Culverhouse noted that "special recognition has been given to Fulton blacks by the chamber of commerce and even at the Kingdom of Callaway Supper, which would have been unheard of only a few years ago."[22]

Reverend Culverhouse noted that there have been tremendous changes in race relations in the last two decades. He said that when he came to Fulton "there were still separate restrooms for blacks and whites in the courthouse, and all of the eating places in Fulton were segregated." He credits the churches with the changes.[23]

The Advisory Committee heard several reports about tension between white students at Westminister College and black youths in the black neighborhood that is immediately adjacent to it. One observer attributed this to natural resentment by poor black youth of the resources available to the rich white students.[24] But a former Westminister College official and member of the city council, Thane Olsby, argued that the rift was not racial but "town-gown" rivalry typical of any college town.[25] The sheriff of Callaway County, Vollie Salmons, reported that several years ago black youths had thrown bricks at a city police car going to the brickyard but that there had been only one incident recently—between local black youths and whites from out of town. He said the whites had been arrested and the tension eased.[26]

The city attorney, John Cave II, noted that interracial dating had caused some heckling incidents but no major confrontation.[27] That interracial dating has even occurred is symbolic of change, he said.

Wilma Jones, one of two city council members from the predominantly black fourth ward, stated that the white community is becoming aware of the problems facing blacks in Fulton and the need to do

[11] John Cave II, interview in Fulton, Mar. 28, 1978.
[12] W.C. Murphy, interview in Fulton, Nov. 10, 1977.
[13] W.W. Lewis, interview in Fulton, Mar. 28, 1978.
[14] James Ritterbusch, interview in Fulton, June 27, 1978.
[15] Cecil G. Culverhouse, interview in Fulton, Nov. 11, 1977.
[16] Robert H. Bullock, interview in Fulton, Nov. 11, 1977.
[17] Ibid.
[18] W.L. Jenkins, interview in Fulton, Nov. 17, 1977.
[19] Elvin Richmond, interview in Fulton, Mar. 28, 1978.
[20] Frank Taylor, interview in Fulton, June 29, 1978.
[21] Lorenzo Greene, telephone interview, Dec. 13, 1978; Clarence Davis, interview in Fulton, June 29, 1978.
[22] Cecil Culverhouse, letter to Joanne Collins, Nov. 29, 1978.
[23] Ibid.
[24] Sally Reynolds, Westminister College, interview in Fulton, June 27, 1978.
[25] Thane Olsby, interview in Fulton, June 27, 1978.
[26] Vollie Salmons, interview in Fulton, Mar. 28, 1978; see also interview with John Cave II, in Fulton, Mar. 28, 1978.
[27] John Cave II, interview in Fulton, Mar. 28, 1978.

something about them. She said she hoped that Fulton could make a smooth transition to better race relations.[28]

The former director of SERVE, the local community action program, stated that the power structure does not perceive itself as racist and does what will be perceived as being right but there is a "good old boy" syndrome in town and a paternalistic attitude towards blacks.[29]

Rev. Robert H. Bullock, former director of ecumenical ministries, noted that black churches had not joined this group.[30] A black minister pointed out that the cost (5 percent of church revenue) for participation in the ecumenical ministry was beyond the means of the black churches.[31]

The Fulton Commission on Human Rights and Community Relations has been reactivated by Mayor Oestreich to assist in enforcing the fair housing ordinance.[32] This body existed under the Fulton City Code, but had been allowed to become dormant over the years.[33] The nine-member body is authorized to improve communications; formulate educational programs; investigate "racial, religious and ethnic group tension, prejudice, intolerance, bigotry and discrimination and any breach of the peace or disorder occasioned thereby" and any discriminatory act based on race, creed, national origin, or ancestry; and publish reports that would prevent problems or "promote good will."[34] The ordinance does not define discrimination nor does it declare any form of discrimination to be a violation of law for which remedies and penalties are possible. The commission can only receive and investigate complaints forwarded to it by the mayor and city council.[35] On June 27, 1978, the mayor appointed new members to the commission. On July 13, 1978, the city adopted a fair housing ordinance that rendered discrimination in the provision of housing punishable. But all complainants must still go through the city council to file complaints.[36]

In the chapters that follow, the Advisory Committee reviews specific examples of interaction between whites and blacks in Fulton and Callaway County.

[28] Wilma Jones, interview in Fulton, Nov. 11, 1977.
[29] Wallace Bloss, interview in Fulton, Nov. 11, 1977.
[30] Robert H. Bullock, interview in Fulton, Nov. 11, 1977.
[31] Cato Sims, interview in Fulton, Nov. 16, 1977.
[32] Wilma Jones, letter to staff, Oct. 31, 1978.
[33] See Fulton City Code, sec. 2-195 through 197.
[34] Ibid., sec. 2-197.
[35] Fulton City Code, sec. 2-195 through 197.
[36] Fulton City Code, ch. 15-B.

5. Housing

In its 1963 report, the Missouri Advisory Committee found in nearby Mexico that "discriminatory practices exist in public and private housing. Negroes cannot purchase homes wherever they desire. In certain areas they are not even permitted to live in project houses."[1] Speaking of Fulton in 1963, Charles William Kerr described the houses in the "colored section" as "small and overcrowded, in need of repair."[2]

In 1970 the *Official Comprehensive Plan of the City of Fulton* indicated that the bulk of the black community in Fulton lived in an area whose housing and environment were inadequate compared to the rest of the community, although race was not explicitly mentioned. The 1960 census was cited to show that although statewide 17.3 percent of the 1960 housing stock was deteriorating and 5.4 percent was dilapidated, in Fulton 26.8 percent was deteriorating and 7.9 percent was dilapidated. In Callaway County 28.5 percent was deteriorating and 10.1 percent was dilapidated.[3]

The area around Westminster Avenue between the two colleges was reported to be the "most serious" area of substandard housing. This was and is the black neighborhood. In the plan another area that was predominantly white was mentioned as "not as extensively substandard."[4] The plan's authors stated that there was "a general lack of awareness or concern on the part of some citizens as to the importance of maintaining their homes."[5] The report refers to the absence of revenue or personnel to carry out a "significant clearance and redevelopment project."[6] The authors noted that the voters had previously rejected the establishment of a "Land Clearance and Redevelopment Authority which is necessary to undertake urban renewal projects. Those areas that would have been helped the most were the most opposed due undoubtedly from a lack of understanding and resulting mistrust."[7] The planners suggested that the entire black area be cleared. This urban renewal proposal was perceived by the black community to be yet another "black removal"[8] for which similar programs nationwide have received notoriety. For these reasons the black community opposed it.[9]

The current status of the black neighborhood has been described previously in the record of Fulton's Housing and Community Development Act preapplication. HUD's rejection of the city's application will prevent much work being done to alleviate conditions. The only program to be carried out in fiscal year 1978 is work on Westminster Avenue, funded from the general revenue sharing account (90 percent) and gas tax funds (10 percent).[10]

Prior to 1969, housing in Fulton was segregated.[11] When Clarence Davis came to the Missouri School

[1] *Report of the Missouri Advisory Committee*, p. 3.
[2] Charles William Kerr, "Politics and Ideology in the Kingdom of Callaway," (Ph.D thesis, University of Missouri-Columbia, June 1963), p. 15.
[3] Harland Bartholomew and Associates, *Final Report on the Comprehensive Plan: Fulton, Missouri* (1970), p. 63, (hereafter cited as *Comprehensive Plan).*
[4] Ibid., p. 62.
[5] Ibid., p. 64.
[6] Ibid.
[7] Ibid., p. 65.
[8] Wallace Bloss, interview in Fulton, Nov. 11, 1977.
[9] *Comprehensive Plan*, p. 65.
[10] George L. Oestreich, telephone interview, Aug. 24, 1978; and Fulton City Council, interview in Fulton, Dec. 11, 1978.
[11] Jack McBride, interview in Columbia, July 7, 1977.

for the Deaf in 1956, there were no new houses available to blacks. In 1960 he was one of the first blacks to build a new home (at 12th and Westminster, inside the black neighborhood). He was initially unable to get a loan until lawyers for the builder, Southern Homes, "ran interference." But thereafter, he reported, other blacks have been able to build.[12] During 1963–64 the city built public housing projects in conformity with the segregated pattern of the town—three were placed in the black neighborhood and one in what was the white.[13]

In 1968–69, at the time the formerly all-black Carver School was desegregated, black residents near the school were forced to move so their dilapidated houses could be torn down.[14] In 1969 an open housing committee was established at the urging of the NAACP. It included prominent members of the local chamber of commerce. Jack McBride, head of the local NAACP, reported that since that time some blacks have been able to move to other parts of town than the northwest.[15] Kleewood development, a prestigious subdivision, was begun in 1954 but only in the 1970s did it become integrated.[16] John Cave II, the city attorney, stated that blacks today have no problem buying houses anywhere in town if they have the money.[17]

Some black families have moved into Crestwood, a newer development but next to the black neighborhood. Other black families have dispersed to other parts of Fulton. Currently, banks and savings and loans offices report that mortgage money is readily available for all qualified black applicants. Some savings and loans officials stated that the rejection rate for blacks was lower than that for whites.[18]

The city council passed a fair housing ordinance, after the election of Mayor Oestreich, to become eligible for community development block grant funds.[19] The ordinance, passed on July 13, 1978, makes it unlawful to refuse to sell or rent on the basis of race, color, religion, sex, marital status, age, or national origin. The ordinance specifies that complaints be filed with the local commission on human rights and be prosecuted by the city attorney. Conviction carries a fine of up to $500 and imprisonment for not more than 3 months.[20]

Because of the pattern in which public housing was built, it was initially segregated and segregation persists in the projects located in the black neighborhood. Russell Logan, city council member from the fourth ward, stated that most blacks prefer to live in the black area, although some have moved into other projects that are integrated.[21]

Doris Chiles, director of the Fulton Public Housing Authority, told Advisory Committee staff that it is the authority's policy to allow blacks and whites to live in whatever projects they choose. She noted that the pattern imposed by the choice of sites in 1963 remains by choice of prospective tenants today. Table 5.1 shows the pattern as it exists. HUD area office officials have reviewed this policy and found it within the law.[22] The management of the authority is considered by HUD to be efficient and effective.[23] One member of the six-person staff is black.[24] Doris Chiles' efforts to ensure equality of opportunity are acknowledged by the black leadership.[25] The housing authority has administered 69 units under Section 8 existing housing rent subsidy funds. Of 36 units authorized December 10, 1975, 6 are occupied by blacks, 30 by whites. Of 33 units authorized after July 1, 1978, 28 have been leased, 5 by blacks.[26]

The county housing assistance plan, which indicates who will be served in the future, shows that 13 percent of the families in need of assisted housing are black.[27] This is nearly double the black proportion of the county's population.

An examination of the 1970 census data on housing shows that among renters the median rent for black families was $63 versus $83 for blacks and whites combined. Twice the proportion of blacks living in Fulton (10 percent) as the city average (5 percent) lacked a private bath. While 80 percent of all householders in Fulton had central heating, only 57 percent of black householders had it. Nineteen percent of black families were overcrowded (1.01 or more persons per room) compared to 7 percent of all

[12] Clarence Davis, interview in Fulton, June 29, 1978.
[13] Wallace Bloss, interview in Fulton, Nov. 11, 1977.
[14] Mr. and Mrs. James Nevins, interview in Fulton, Sept. 12, 1978.
[15] Jack McBride, interview in Jefferson City, Mar. 29, 1978.
[16] Mr. and Mrs. James Nevins, interview in Fulton, Sept. 12, 1978.
[17] John Cave II, interview in Fulton, Mar. 28, 1978.
[18] Susie Rentschler of Kingdom Federal Savings & Loan, interview in Fulton, Sept. 13, 1978; see also First National Bank staff, interview in Fulton, Sept. 13, 1978.
[19] Wilma Jones, letter to staff, Oct. 31, 1978.
[20] Ordinance 1812, enacting ch. 15-b of the Fulton City Code.
[21] Russell Logan, interview in Fulton, Mar. 28, 1978.
[22] Al Lumpkins and James Strassner, interview in St. Louis, July 3, 1978.
[23] Ibid.
[24] Doris Chiles, interview in Fulton, June 28, 1978.
[25] Jack McBride, interview in Jefferson City, Mar. 29, 1978.
[26] Doris Chiles, interview in Fulton, Sept. 13, 1978, and telephone interview, Jan. 29, 1979.
[27] Data supplied by Mid-Missouri Regional Council of Governments.

TABLE 5.1
Fulton Public Housing
January 29, 1979

Units
50 (elderly)
124 (family)
174 (total)

6 sites (5 family and 1 elderly)

Location	Unit	Type	Number of units	Families W	Families B	% minorities
Pioneer Drive	(A)	1 & 4 br. (family)	40	39	1	2.5
West 8th	(B)	1 & 2 br. (family)	12	4	8	66.7
Green and Walnut St.	(C)	2 & 3 br.(family)	18	0	18	100.0
North Westminster	(D)	3 br. (family)	8	0	8	100.0
South Westminster	(E)	1 br. (elderly)	50	47	3	6.0
Sycamore St.	(F)	1 & 4 br. (family)	46	30	16	34.8
Total			174	120	54	31.0

SOURCE: Fulton Housing Authority.

families in the county. The median value of owner-occupied homes in the county was $11,800, but the median value of black owner-occupied homes was $5,600. The Advisory Committee believes that a portion of the homes of less than $5,000 in value in 1970 were in poor condition then and are likely to be worse today. Although 11 percent of the homes in Callaway County were valued at less than $5,000, 44 percent of black-occupied homes were valued at less than $5,000.[28] Callaway County estimates that 211 minority families and 1,390 other families now residing in the county (including the elderly as families) need housing assistance.[29]

Mid-Missouri Council of Governments reports that in 1976 and 1977 Federal funds provided assisted housing outside the black neighborhood in northwestern Fulton for 40 minority households and 165 nonminority; 20 black households and 3 nonminority households living within the black neighborhood of Fulton were served.[30] This means that in the city 26 percent of the assisted households were black in a city population 11.7 percent black. The Council of Governments stated that part of the difficulty in Fulton is that the fair market rents available under Section 8 are too low to attract owners of larger rental units and as a result the program cannot provide for large families.[31] But in the area of Callaway County outside Fulton, of 102 households assisted in 1976–77, only 1 family (1 percent of those served) was a minority household, although there were 493 blacks in the area, or 3.6 percent of the 13,702 residents.[32]

Under former Mayor Murphy, the city was reluctant to apply for Federal funds except to support the existing public housing program and sewer development because the city always had enough money for anything needed.[33] Some observers interpreted this opposition as fear that local autonomy would be eroded and the city would become subject to Federal dictation.[34] No effort was made to pursue Federal funding until Chester Love (third ward councilman) requested that staff of the Mid-Missouri Council of Governments meet with the city council in October 1977. Russell Logan later requested that Wilma Jones be officially appointed council liaison.[35] The city did not apply in 1977 because the county's proposal included a project in Fulton.[36]

The city applied for $2 million in Federal funding over a 3-year period (FY 1979–81) under the

[28] U.S., Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, *Detailed Housing Characteristics: Missouri* (HC(1)–B27), tables 53, 54, 56, 60, 61, 65, 64.
[29] Data supplied by Mid-Missouri Regional Council of Governments.
[30] Mid-Missouri Regional Council of Governments, *Areawide Housing Opportunity Plan for the Mid-Missouri Region* (March 1978), pp. 26, 32 (hereafter cited as *Areawide Housing Opportunity Plan).*
[31] Ibid., p. 66.
[32] Ibid., pp. 26, 32. Subsequent to the period covered by this document additional black families were assisted.
[33] W.C. Murphy, interview in Fulton, Sept. 13, 1978.
[34] Wilma Jones, interview in Fulton, Mar. 29, 1978.
[35] Wilma Jones, letter to staff, Oct. 31, 1978.
[36] D.R. Preston, telephone interview, Sept. 27, 1978.

discretionary small cities program—that is, funds that are awarded to small cities based on the relative merits of their proposals and extent of past efforts. The proposal called for rehabilitation of 165 to 195 housing units, repair or construction of about 10 blocks of sidewalks and an equal amount of curb and gutter work, surfacing or improving 2-1/2 miles of streets, building and equipping a fire substation, construction of a connecting street to remove heavy traffic from the black community and provide access for fire protection for all northwest Fulton, park improvement, land clearance, and economic development. The city estimated that housing improvements would entirely benefit persons with low and moderate incomes and the remaining benefits would reach only 16 percent of persons not of low or moderate income. Housing would take $400,000 and services would consume the rest of the $2 million over a 3-year period.[37] A black community leader, former council member William Glover, chaired the block grant citizens advisory committee. HUD's rejection of the application has been questioned by the city of Fulton,[38] but HUD had not responded as of December 1978.[39]

In September 1977, Callaway County received a community development block grant of $150,000 to cover 14 months of work rehabilitating houses ($81,500) and improving streets ($58,000) and $10,500 for administration in five unincorporated areas of the county—Guthrie, Portland, Stephens, Tebbetts, and Wainwright.[40] According to Mid-Missouri Council of Governments, the targets include areas of minority population. A housing rehabilitation advisory committee was established, including six white males, two white females, and one black female. Mrs. Bessie Richmond, the minority member, said that she and another woman on the committee personally undertook to recruit minorities eligible for housing assistance in Guthrie and Stephens.[41] This resulted in 4 minority and 18 nonminority households receiving assistance by October 1978,[42] she said. Mrs. Richmond said she hopes the committee will ensure that some of the rehabilitation work under the grant goes to minorities.[43] The contract work is being handled through SERVE, Inc., a local grantee of the eight-county community action agency headquartered in Columbia.

As of October 1978, funding was not available for work in the black neighborhoods of the city. County funds expire in spring 1979 when work on the FY 1978 grant is completed. For this reason the status quo will not soon change unless additional local funding is used. Fulton has reapplied for community development funds for FY 1980.

[37] Fulton, Mo., *Comprehensive Multi-Year Community Development Project, Pre-Application* (May 10, 1978).
[38] George L. Oestreich, letter to John Bullock, Sept. 21, 1978.
[39] George L. Oestreich, interview in Fulton, Dec. 11, 1978.
[40] *Areawide Housing Opportunity Plan*, p. 122.
[41] Bessie Richmond, interview in Fulton, Mar. 28, 1978.
[42] Pat Ash, Mid-Missouri Council of Governments, telephone interview, Oct. 24, 1978.
[43] Bessie Richmond, interview in Fulton, Mar. 28, 1978.

6. Schools

Prior to 1954, black students in Callaway County often walked several miles, passing anywhere from one to three white schools, to obtain an education.[1] According to Charles Kerr, in 1952 a person "active in attempting to promote racial equality" was defeated in a Democratic Party caucus choosing school board candidates following a telephone campaign.[2] In 1958, it is reported, when James E. Lewis, a black man, was a candidate, an election official leaked word that he was second in the voting, and a telephone campaign then began that resulted in his overwhelming defeat.[3]

The Advisory Committee has limited its current study to the Fulton public schools, which include six elementary schools, a junior high school, and a high school. As of January 7, 1977, only one of the elementary schools, Millersburg (with a total of 35 pupils in grades K–3), had no black pupils. The K–4 black enrollments were 4.9 percent of 247 students at Bartley, 10.9 percent of 257 students at McIntire, and 18.3 percent of 289 students at Bush. Center school, a fifth grade attendance center, enrolled 151 pupils of whom 12.6 percent were black. Carver, formerly a predominantly black school, is a sixth grade attendance center; 14.4 percent of its 167 students were black. The average for all elementary schools was 11.9 percent; 14.5 percent of the 379 junior high school students and 12.3 percent of the 824 senior high school students were black. Of 136 faculty members in January 1977, 10 (7.4 percent of the total) were black. Only Carver School had no black teacher, but its staff included a black secretary and a black janitor.[4]

Fulton High School was first desegregated in 1952 when Jack McBride, now a community leader, refused to be bused to Lincoln University laboratory school in Jefferson City, 25 miles away, to which all black high school students had previously gone.[5] But other black high school students rode to Lincoln until 1956.[6] The junior high school was desegregated in 1962, and in 1968–69 the primary grades were integrated.[7] The district is particularly proud of the fact that it did not close the former black elementary school but incorporated it into the new system as a sixth grade attendance center for all district pupils.[8]

Although Fulton High School is ostensibly desegregated, its principal during 1977–78, William Sheals, pointed out that a caste-like system remains, reflecting the town's social patterns. He said he has "forced integration as much as possible" by such actions as removing tables at school socials, but blacks and whites do not mingle much outside of formal activities where all are required to participate. Academic clubs are predominantly white.[9]

[1] Mr. and Mrs. James Nevins, interview in Fulton, Sept. 12, 1978.
[2] Charles William Kerr, "Politics and Ideology in the Kingdom of Callaway" (Ph.D. thesis, University of Missouri-Columbia, June 1963), p. 210.
[3] Ibid, pp. 210–11.
[4] Data supplied by Fulton public schools, Mar. 29, 1978, Oct. 3, 1978.
[5] Jack McBride, interview in Fulton, Mar. 29, 1978.
[6] Edward Rice, assistant superintendent of schools, interview in Fulton, Sept. 12, 1978.
[7] Ibid.
[8] Louis Lewis and Edward Rice, interview in Fulton, Mar. 29, 1978.
[9] William Sheals, interview in Fulton, Mar. 29, 1978.

Although 23 percent of the students participate in the college preparatory special program, almost no blacks do so.[10] One counselor blamed this on parental disinterest.[11] But a former teacher at Lincoln University who lives in Fulton said that the Fulton schools seem to want black kids only for their athletic ability and do not care about their educational achievement. He believes both whites and blacks who are not motivated suffer from neglect.[12]

There are disputes about the extent to which black students are encouraged to go on to college. One person told staff that black youth are not sufficiently informed of financial aid, and some counselors have told students who subsequently successfully completed college that they were not college material.[13] But Rochelle Galbreath told staff she was encouraged by her school counselors to go to college.[14]

Blacks are overrepresented in the district's special education classes (13 of 27 in high school, 6 of 16 in junior high school, 10 of 31 in elementary school), according to the last available report in April 1976. One counselor stated that this was probably due to their "home life" rather than discrimination. He noted that students are placed in special education classes in the primary grades and are retested periodically.[15]

Black students do not participate in large numbers in the cooperative education work experience program. This was attributed by a counselor not to student or parent failings but to the reluctance of employers to hire black students.[16]

One observer said that high school counselors do not have sufficient time to counsel students properly. She also observed that there are inadequate vocational education opportunities in the schools, given the variety of jobs available in the community.[17] Black leaders generally agreed that some black students are not encouraged at home. They argued that more black teachers are needed to motivate students.[18] But one observer noted that some black students do not worry about school because they feel that they can get good jobs at the refractories without a high school diploma.[19]

The former head of an inschool suspension pilot project, Rev. Cato Sims, noted that blacks are suspended more than whites, especially for disrespect to teachers.[20] Of students suspended from high school in 1976–77 (counting each suspension separately), 44 percent were black. Of those who dropped out of high school, 38 percent were black. These figures are nearly three times the proportion of black students in school.[21] Reverend Sims believes that there is need for a strong black administrator who could relate to teenagers, especially those from deprived circumstances. He stated that the same instructions that black students resent hearing from a white administrator, such as not congregating in the halls, might be more acceptable coming from a black administrator.[22]

The superintendent of schools, Louis Lewis, reported that the district has held workshops on coping with disadvantaged students but race as such is downplayed. He believes that race should not enter into a decision, that all should be treated alike.[23]

Often desegregation has resulted in the termination of black teachers. This was not the case in Fulton,[24] but one observer noted that when black teachers in the district retire or leave they are not replaced, although there are a number of blacks with teaching degrees who teach elsewhere in the area and a number of white teachers who commute from Columbia.[25]

The superintendent of schools insisted that all applicants must be well qualified, regardless of race. He stated that priority is given in hiring to mid-Missouri residents but that recruitment went beyond the two local colleges.[26] The principal of Fulton High School told staff that he needed eight or nine more black teachers and had tried every teacher training school in the State to find them. He stated that most teachers preferred the better salaries offered by surrounding communities such as Jefferson City, Mexico, or Columbia.[27] As of October

[10] Ibid.
[11] John Metcalf, interview in Fulton, Mar. 29, 1978.
[12] James Lewis, interview in Fulton, June 29, 1978.
[13] Interview in Fulton, June 29, 1978.
[14] Rochelle Galbreath, interview in Fulton, June 28, 1978.
[15] John Metcalf, interview in Fulton, Mar. 29, 1978.
[16] Ibid.
[17] Sally Reynolds, interview in Fulton, June 27, 1978.
[18] Goldie Vaughn, interview in Fulton, Nov. 17, 1977.
[19] Sally Reynolds, interview in Fulton, June 27, 1978.
[20] Cato Sims, interview in Fulton, Nov. 16, 1977.
[21] Data supplied by Fulton school district.
[22] Cato Sims, interview in Fulton, Nov. 16, 1977.
[23] Louis Lewis and Edward Rice, interview in Fulton, Mar 29, 1978.
[24] Jack McBride, interview in Columbia, Nov. 17, 1977, and Russell Logan, interview in Fulton, Mar. 28, 1978.
[25] Interview in Fulton, June 29, 1978.
[26] Louis Lewis and Edward Rice, interview in Fulton, Mar. 29, 1978.
[27] William Sheals, interview in Fulton, Mar. 29, 1978.

1978, there were 10 minority teachers on a staff of 128, 1 black principal out of 6, 1 black clerical employee of 15, no black aides of 7, and 7 black service workers of 48.[28]

One observer noted that the school system seems afraid to try anything new or different to deal with its problems.[29] Whatever the cause, the descriptions of school problems by black leaders and the accounts given by school administrators indicate a longstanding communications gap between the schools and the black community.

[28] Edward Rice, letter to staff, Oct. 3, 1978.

[29] Wallace Bloss, interview in Fulton, Nov. 11, 1977.

7. Employment in Fulton and Callaway County

In 1963 the Missouri Advisory Committee reported that blacks in Mexico, Missouri, were "kept at a substandard level as a consequence of Negroes being restricted to menial and low salaried jobs." Blacks were able to get jobs only as custodial or janitorial workers in stores, factories, and offices and to serve as domestic and janitorial workers in the city hall and county courthouse. None could obtain jobs as semiskilled or skilled workers or be promoted to supervisory positions. No black could work on construction sites in the urban renewal program. No black worker was employed at the local post office.[1]

In an area such as Callaway County with a very low unemployment rate (2.9 percent in November 1978),[2] and in light of antidiscrimination laws, analysis of employment is unlikely to produce gross evidence of discrimination. What the Advisory Committee studied was the availability of black workers by comparison to white workers, the extent to which black workers were utilized differently in the area labor force (of which black males in 1976 were 3.4 percent and black females were 2.3 percent),[3] and the extent to which black workers were employed by specific local employers.

Table 7.1 shows the distribution of the Callaway County employed labor force in 1970. It shows that black males are a significantly lower proportion of the professional, technical, and kindred workers, managers and administrators, salespersons, clericals, craftspersons, and farmers categories than they are of the total employed labor force. Black females are a significantly lower proportion of all job categories except sales, operatives, and service workers than their numbers in the employed labor force. The occupational index of dissimilarity is 0.424. This is significantly higher than for Missouri as a whole, for which it is 0.324.[4]

Table 7.2 shows the work experience of white and black persons in Callaway County in 1970. The proportion of white males who did not work was higher than that of black males in the 45 to 64 age group but lower in the 22 to 44 age group. White females were significantly more likely to have worked than were black females in the 22 to 64 age range. Unlike the Nation, however, teenage unemployment (persons aged 14–21) was virtually the same for both blacks and whites, male and female. Despite this, black males and females over age 14 were significantly more likely to be living at poverty level than were their white counterparts (11.6 percent of white males versus 22.0 percent of black males and 14.2 percent of white females versus 27.9 percent of black females).[5] This may be explained in part by the significantly larger proportion of black males aged 22 to 64 (10.5 percent) than white males aged 22 to 64 (4.7 percent) who worked less that 26 weeks per year. However, it should be noted that white females were far more likely to work less than

[1] *Report of the Missouri Advisory Committee*, p. 2.
[2] Missouri, Department of Labor and Industrial Relations, *Missouri Area Labor Trends* (November 1978), table 1A.
[3] Missouri, Department of Labor and Industrial Relations, *Manpower Information for Affirmative Action Programs* (September 1977), extrapolated from table 2.
[4] See U.S. Commission On Civil Rights, *Social Indicators of Equality for Minorities and Women* (August 1978), p. 44.
[5] Data supplied by U.S. Community Services Administration, on file in Central States Regional Office, U.S. Commission on Civil Rights.

TABLE 7.1

Distribution of Callaway County Employed Labor Force, 1970 (Persons 16 and over)

Occupations	WM	%	WF	%	BM	%	BF	%
Professional, technical, & kindred	505	48.5	512	49.1	20	1.9	5	0.5
Managers & administrators	544	76.7	160	22.6	5	0.7	0	0
Sales	305	61.0	182	36.4	0	0	13	2.6
Clerical	303	21.9	1,065	76.8	6	0.4	12	0.9
Craftspersons, foremen, & kindred	1,213	88.6	121	8.8	30	2.2	5	0.4
Operatives	636	58.2	392	36.0	41	3.8	23	2.1
Transport	353	88.3	31	7.8	16	4.0	0	0
Laborers	306	80.5	19	5.0	55	14.5	0	0
Farmers	559	96.4	15	2.6	6	1.0	0	0
Farmworkers	114	82.0	11	7.9	14	10.1	0	0
Service	685	36.4	952	50.6	120	6.4	126	6.7
Household	0	0	67	60.9	6	5.5	37	33.6
Total	5,523	57.6	3,527	36.8	319	3.3	221	2.3

WM = All males not black
WF = All females not black
BM = All black males
BF = All black females

Source: U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census *General Social and Economic Characteristics: Missouri* PC (1)-C27, tables 122, 127.

26 weeks per year than were black females (17.5 percent versus 10.0 percent).[6]

Table 7.3 shows the utilization of minorities and women by Fulton employers who agreed to supply data, but not all major employers in the area provided data as requested.

William Woods College wrote:

> As you know, EEO-6 and HEGIS [Higher Education General Information Survey] reports contain sensitive and confidential information. It is our understanding that the results of your inquiries will be made public and therefore the confidential information. . .will no longer remain confidential. This, we feel, would be a most unfortunate development and one to which we would have to object.
>
> It is, therefore, with regret that I must decline your request for copies of these reports.[7]

Westminster College's response was similar.[8] Harbison-Walker replied:

> Quite frankly, a response to the information requested would require a great deal of work, time, and effort. Further, we view this as a duplication of work which we already perform for other governmental agencies, and we prefer not performing this work for your organization as well.
>
> If I understand correctly, participation in this information-gathering effort is strictly voluntary; we therefore respectfully decline to comply.[9]

[6] Ibid.
[7] R.B. Cutlip, president, William Woods College, letter to staff, July 13, 1978.
[8] Thane J. Olsby, director, Business Services, letter to staff, July 17, 1978.
[9] L.G. Sanberg, director, Group Industrial Relations, Harbison-Walker Refractories, letter to staff, July 31, 1978.

TABLE 7.2
Work Experience, Callaway County, 1970 Census

	Total who worked	40 wks. +	27-39 wks.	26 wks. or less	Didn't work
White males					
Total	5,980	4,929	310	741	1,403
14-21	783	309	107	367	506
22-44	2,621	2,394	78	149	53
45-64	2,059	1,902	85	72	136
65 +	517	324	40	153	708
White females					
Total	4,064	2,552	543	969	3,918
14-21	558	177	77	304	773
22-44	1,787	1,129	242	416	1,045
45-64	1,433	1,104	183	146	905
65 +	286	142	41	103	1,195
Black males					
Total	357	279	11	67	161
14-21	45	10	0	35	25
22-44	114	110	0	4	16
45-64	153	129	0	24	8
65 +	45	30	11	4	112
Black females					
Total	256	157	46	53	235
14-21	37	9	5	23	68
22-44	91	61	20	10	31
45-64	110	82	18	10	43
65 +	111	18	5	3	10

Source: Data supplied by U.S. Community Services Administration.

Danuser Manufacturing also refused to supply all the material requested.[19] The data must thus be seen as not representing the full range of employers in the area.

Ovid Bell Press, Fulton State Hospital, Missouri School for the Deaf, and the city of Fulton all employed proportionately as many black males as were in the area labor force. Fulton State Hospital, Missouri School for the Deaf, Callaway County Hospital, and Stride Rite Shoes all employed proportionately as many black females as were in the area labor force. Of the local employers, only Fulton State Hospital employed black males as administrators, and only Callaway County Hospital employed a black female department head. The two State institutions employed black males and females as professionals. Daniel International employed three black male professionals. The other employers did not. Only Fulton State Hospital and Daniel International employed a black male technician. Only Callaway County Hospital and Fulton State Hospital employed a black female technician. Of the local employers who replied, only Daniel International, the city, and the county employed either black males or females in clerical positions. (Recent employment of black female clerical workers by the city and county is shown in the notes to table 7.3.) Only Fulton State Hospital employed both black male and female skilled workers. Ovid Bell employed a single black male skilled worker. The city has a black fireman. Daniel International employed several black male skilled workers.

The Advisory Committee supplemented the statistical information provided by some employers with

[19] Don Weiss, telephone interview, Aug. 1, 1978.

TABLE 7.3

Utilization of Minorities and Women by Fulton Employers (In Selected Categories)

	Ovid-Bell 7/77-6/78	Fulton State Hospital 7/78	Missouri School for the Deaf 6/78	Callaway Hospital 7/78	City of Fulton 11/30/77	Callaway County 11/7/77	Stride Rite Shoes 8/1/78	Daniels International 3/31/77
Administrators								
Total	4	39	3	14	6	12	6	70
BM	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0
WF	0	11	1	11	1	12	3	0
BF	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0
Professionals								
Total	1	169	57	7	0	6	NC	127
BM	0	6	2	0	0	0	NC	3
WF	0	71	40	6	0	3	NC	5
BF	0	4	1	0	0	0	NC	0
Technicians								
Total	3	63	2	22	14	2	NC	121
BM	0	1	0	0	0	0	NC	1
WF	0	45	1	15	1	1	NC	5
BF	0	4	0	2	0	0+	NC	0
Office/Clerical								
Total	3	139	8	11	8	9	4	114
BM	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
WF	3	123	8	11	8	9	2	90
BF	0	0	0	0	0*	0**	0	2
Skilled								
Total	34	52	NC	NC	18	8	2	601
BM	1	1	NC	NC	1	0	0	17
WF	7	1	NC	NC	0	0	0	2
BF	0	2	NC	NC	0	0	0	0
Paraprofessionals								
Total	NC	586	66	NC	3	1	NC	NC
BM	NC	21	4	NC	0*	0	NC	NC
WF	NC	320	49	NC	1	1	NC	NC
BF	NC	39	4	NC	0	0	NC	NC
Work Force								
Total	56	1,347++	186	105++	113	53	200++	1,377++
BM	4	46	10	1	4	0	5	32
WF	13	743	124	74	12	26	158	112
BF	0	67	11	16	0	1	5	2

BM = Black male **BF** = Black female **WF** = White female **NC** = None in category

*In addition, the city hired one black fireman and one black female clerical since reporting date.
**The county employed two black female clerical workers subsequent to the date of these data.

+There is one Asian in this category.
++Other minorities reported.

TABLE 7.3 (cont'd)

FULTON STATE HOSPITAL

	Hispanic	Asian American	American Indian	Total
Male	4	2	1	
Female	4	2	0	
				13
CALLAWAY COUNTY HOSPITAL				
Male	0	0	0	
Female	2	1	0	
				3
STRIDE RITE				
Male	0	0	0	
Female	0	1	0	
				1
DANIEL				
Male	7	4	16	
Female	0	0	0	
				27

Source: Data supplied by employers are on file in Central States Regional Office, U.S. Commission on Civil Rights

informal impressions provided by many of the principal local employers and by other persons in the community. The Advisory Committee was particularly interested in the extent of affirmative recruitment efforts, since other studies conducted in this region had shown that these are essential to expanded opportunities for minorities and women.[11] Adequate representation of minorities and women is far from universal. Moreover, there is considerable disparity in the extent of local efforts to recruit minorities and reasonable doubt about the effectiveness of affirmative action efforts.

The traditional sources of employment for blacks in Fulton are the two brickmaking plants. Chester Brown, plant manager at Harbison-Walker, reported that of 335 current employees about 15 to 16 percent are minorities. All workers start as laborers but can bid for other jobs using departmental seniority. He reported that the plant has two black foremen and three black female clericals. He stated that the company actively recruited, hired, and promoted black workers but that the low turnover prevents much effort.[12] A.P. Green reported that it recruits through Job Service, walk-ins, referrals from its headquarters in Mexico, Missouri, and promotion. It too reports a stable work force with low turnover. It reported that it has never had a discrimination complaint.[13]

The other large permanent employer in Fulton is the State of Missouri, through the Fulton State Hospital and Missouri School for the Deaf. Dr. James Ritterbusch, superintendent of the State hospital, pointed out that a black psychiatrist heads the youth center and another black male heads the alcohol and drug abuse unit (two of seven hospital units).[14]

Minorities allegedly experienced discrimination in hiring as long ago as 1933.[15] In the late 1950s the hospital reportedly refused to hire a black doctor.[16] Corrine Bradford said that in 1968 different certification requirements were imposed by the hospital on white and black workers.[17]

Lou Curit, a personnel director at the hospital, told Advisory Committee staff that 8 percent of the hospital's work force is black. He stated that he is looking for people who can do the job, regardless of color. He said the register doesn't allow for much flexibility because the "rule of five" requires that one of the top five persons on the State civil service list be hired. He claimed that all are treated equally in hiring but he would expect that if all other things were equal a black would be hired in a category where minorities were underrepresented. He pointed to the success of the head of the alcoholism unit, who rose from the ranks, as an example of their career ladder program.[18]

Peter H. Ripley, superintendent of Missouri School for the Deaf, stated that the highest position held by a black in his school is the head of the media department who previously was vocational principal. There are also two black teachers, two black teacher aides, and other blacks employed in auto body, bakery, dietary, and maintenance and as houseparents. He noted that recruitment of professionals is difficult because very few black teachers go into education for the deaf.[19] Mr. Ripley noted they also employ many handicapped persons, primarily deaf and hard of hearing.[20]

Daniel International is responsible for construction work at the nuclear power plant being built in the county. It has a work force of 565 salaried employees, 65 percent of whom are clerical. The balance of the 2,940 employees are construction workers. Paul Ladnier, former employment manager, told staff that about 3.8 percent of the current work force are from minority groups. Daniel International is trying to raise this to 7.6 percent (the percentage of minorities in the county population) but reported difficulty doing so. While nontechnical persons are recruited locally via the employment service, others are recruited from outside the area. Newspaper ads, Mr. Ladnier stated, were not successful. He reported visiting the universities at Rolla and Jefferson City looking for engineers and accountants, but most college-graduate recruitment

[11] U.S., Civil Rights Commission, Nebraska Advisory Committee, *Private Sector Affirmative Action: Omaha* (1979) and Missouri Advisory Committee, *State Affirmative Action in Mid-America* (1978).
[12] Chester Brown, interview in Fulton, June 27, 1978.
[13] C.R. Creed and Susan Socks, interview in Fulton, June 27, 1978.
[14] James Ritterbusch, interview in Fulton, June 27, 1978.
[15] In 1933, according to Jack McBride's book, *The Search*, pp. 72–73, a black female who had been offered a professional position at "the Asylum" based on her credentials was refused professional employment when the director saw her skin color. The Fulton City Council comments that "the information in the book is not substantiated and can only be accepted as one man's opinion." (George L. Oestriech, letter to staff, Dec. 19,1978)
[16] Troy Bradford, interview in Fulton, Sept. 12, 1978.
[17] Corinne Bradford, interview in Fulton, Sept. 13, 1978.
[18] Lou Curit, personnel director, Fulton State Hospital, interview in Fulton, June 28, 1978.
[19] Peter H. Ripley, interview in Fulton, June 28, 1978.
[20] Peter H. Ripley, letter to Joanne Collins, Dec. 4, 1978.

is handled by corporate headquarters in South Carolina.[21]

In an update of its EEO–1 report, Daniel International reported that of 2,029 employees who could be identified by race, 1.6 percent (32) were black male, 0.4 percent (8) were black female, and 4 percent (82) were from other minority groups.[22] At the time of the staff interviews, Daniel International was seeking persons for a pipefitting training program of 8 weeks. It hoped to recruit at least 2 blacks for each class of 8 to 10 persons. Mr. Ladnier complained that Missouri lacks the quality vocational education program available in other States and consequently there are fewer minority craftworkers available than he had found in other areas. He said that because Daniel International is a Federal contractor, unions must supply minority workers if they are available. He claimed that most minorities who apply are hired. Currently, the work site has a black quality control inspector. It used to have a black personnel officer but he was promoted to another site. Mr. Ladnier noted that he is under instruction from corporate headquarters to make yet greater efforts to find qualified minority employees.[23] At the present time, Daniel International's data on utilization of craftspersons shows that it employs workers in 13 crafts, in 8 of which there are a substantial number of workers. In four crafts, black representation is less than their proportion of the total area labor force.[24] The company's affirmative action statement does not include a plan of action to implement affirmative efforts.

The two colleges, William Woods and Westminster, are long established in the town. Thane Olsby, director of business services at Westminster College, told staff that there were 130 professional and nonprofessional staff. He stated, "We are an equal opportunity employer." He cited as illustrative of this that a black male supervises 27 to 30 persons on the buildings and grounds crew, of whom 8 are black.[25] Dr. Clifford Shipp, dean of academic affairs, and Norman Gerhart, business manager, at William Woods College told staff that there were about 230 employees, including 29 male and 26 female full-time faculty and 20 to 25 part-time faculty. They stated that about 15 to 25 of the nonfaculty staff of between 92 to 138 are black. There is one Hispanic male on the faculty. They stated that no special effort has been made to recruit black workers or faculty.[26]

Among the other larger private employers in Fulton are Ovid Bell Press, Danuser Machine Co., and Central Electric Co. Ovid Bell has a work force of 58, including 4 full-time and 2 part-time black workers, and 1 black machine operator. In 1977 they hired one white female and one white male employee. For skilled jobs, the company uses the State job service. Most of the black workers are janitors.[27]

Danuser Machine Co. employs 5 black workers, 5.7 percent of the work force of about 88—a janitor, a welder, and 3 machinists, 1 of whom was recently hired. Don Weiss, personnel manager, noted that few applicants have the necessary welding and machinist skills. He complained that the local vocational schools are not providing sufficient training that workers need in his plant. He noted, however, that Linn Technical College in Linn, Missouri, and Nichols Career Center in Jefferson City, Missouri, are producing good graduates. The company relies on word-of-mouth recruitment.[28]

Central Electric Co. employs 75 persons. Dennis T. Schlegel, its general manager, said an affirmative action program would be implemented on August 30, 1978. At the time of the Advisory Committee staff's interview in June, there was only one minority worker, an Asian. The company relies on walk-in applications, word of mouth, and referrals from the various local high school teachers. Mr. Schlegel said he thought that women are grossly underpaid and that represents a problem in employment, although he does not believe this applies to his work force.[29]

Stride Rite Shoes is new in town. According to Dewitt Smith, the plant superintendent, and Ted Schortal, director of plant operations, it employs about 200 workers of whom 11 are minority (10 black, 5 percent of its work force). Because turnover is very high, the plant advertises in the local paper and uses the job service and walk-ins. But since opportunities for advancement are limited, the managers believe most black workers prefer to seek jobs at the brick factories.[30]

[21] Paul Ladnier, interview in Fulton, June 27, 1978.
[22] Paul Ladnier, letter to staff, Aug. 30, 1978.
[23] Paul Ladnier, interview in Fulton, June 17, 1978.
[24] Data supplied by Daniel International on file in Central States Regional Office, U.S. Commission on Civil Rights.
[25] Thane Olsby, interview in Fulton, June 27, 1978.
[26] Clifford Shipp and Norman Gerhart, interview in Fulton, June 28, 1978.
[27] Ovid Bell, interview in Fulton, June 27, 1978.
[28] Don Weiss, interview in Fulton, June 28, 1978.
[29] Dennis T. Schlegel, interview in Fulton, June 28, 1978, and letter to staff, Nov. 27, 1978.
[30] Dewitt Smith and Ted Schortal, interview in Fulton, June 27, 1978.

A visual survey by staff of downtown businesses on a Wednesday at about 11 a.m. on September 13, 1978, showed that only J.C. Penney's had even one black clerk. One black community person pointed out that while employment opportunities are better now than they were in the past, many local jobs, even those such as custodial jobs that pay low wages, are kept by whites.[31] Another person complained that the downtown employers have not been hiring blacks.[32]

Staff interviewed some of the downtown merchants. Mark Brady of Brady Paint and Glass Co. noted that although his firm has placed ads in the newspaper and used the job service, word-of-mouth recruitment has not been successful. Only one employee, a white male, is not related to the family.[33] John Tutt, of Tutt Clothing Store, said he also relies on word-of-mouth recruitment. Although the current work force of the store is white, Mr. Tutt said he had employed black students in the past.[34]

Municipal Judge Russell Shafer, who handles city charges, alleged that the franchisor of his business, Sears Roebuck, is required to hire unqualified employees because of a quota system. He claimed that blacks had been given an unequal advantage in State highway patrol examinations.[35]

Of the two banks in town, Callaway Bank employs two blacks—a janitor and a female in the accounting department. First National Bank employs a black female bank teller.

One black observer maintained that while black applicants were asked to demonstrate prior experience, downtown businessmen hired and provided on-the-job training for white applicants.[36]

Callaway County Hospital is operated independently of the county government. Sylvia Hampton, the hospital controller, noted that there is no centralized hiring; each department head hires his or her own staff. There are no black RNs, but there are two black LPNs. The kitchen supervisor, who is black, supervises a staff of six whites and five bla[illegible][37] She is the next to the lowest paid supervisor employed. Of the technicians, 16.7 percent are black, but 82.4 percent of the black employees are concentrated in the service worker category where they are 29.2 percent of those employed.

Asked about the validity of questions about an applicant's marital status, maiden name, name of spouse's employer, and a request for a picture, Ms. Hampton said these would be eliminated when new forms were printed. The hospital advertises vacant positions in the local newspapers.[38]

The black community believes there is some employment discrimination by local government.[39] Wallace Bloss noted that the city has not taken a good look at its hiring practices, although it did respond positively to the NAACP request that it hire more blacks.[40]

There are more blacks employed by the city in the sanitation department than in any other department.[41] Since June 1977 the city has hired a black fireman and a black female clerical. It has also employed about 12 black youths during the summer to repair broken sidewalks and parks.[42] Rev. Maceo Piggee commented that these might appear to be small gains, but he believes they are a start and can lead to better positions for "our people" as time goes on. He said these gains had not been given; they had been won.[43] Former city council member Willard Glover noted that it is difficult to get blacks to apply for city jobs other than those that require little formal education.[44] But council member Russell Logan successfully recruited three blacks to apply for positions as firefighters, one of whom was hired.[45] Mr. Logan noted that blacks in small towns such as Fulton generally are not interested in becoming policemen.[46] Council member Wilma Jones reported that the police chief and the director of solid waste had wanted to fill openings by word of mouth, but the council insisted they advertise. She expressed hope that the adoption, in principle, in March 1978 of the outline for an affirmative action plan, to qualify Fulton for Federal funds, would be effective. A final plan has not yet been approved.[47]

[31] Clarence Davis, interview in Fulton, June 29, 1978.
[32] Sondra Patton, interview in Fulton, June 28, 1978.
[33] Mark Brady, interview in Fulton, June 18, 1978.
[34] John Tutt, interview in Fulton, June 28, 1978.
[35] Russell Shafer, interview in Fulton, June 29, 1978.
[36] Mr. and Mrs. Troy Bradford, interview in Fulton, Sept. 12, 1978.
[37] Sylvia Hampton, interview in Fulton, June 28, 1978.
[38] Ibid.
[39] James Galbreath, interview in Fulton, June 29, 1978; Russell Logan, interview in Fulton, Mar. 28, 1978.
[40] Wallace Bloss, interview in Fulton, Nov. 11, 1977.
[41] EEO-4 data for period ending June 30, 1977, supplied by City of Fulton.
[42] Maceo Piggee, interview in Fulton, Nov. 16, 1977.
[43] Ibid.
[44] Willard Glover, interview in Fulton, Nov. 17, 1977.
[45] Wilma Jones, letter to staff, Oct. 31, 1978.
[46] Russell Logan, interview in Fulton, Mar. 28, 1978.
[47] Wilma Jones, letter to staff, Oct. 31, 1978, and George L. Oestreich, telephone interview, Feb. 9, 1979.

The city clerk reported that she is assisted by two females, one of whom is black.[48] The solid waste manager, Frank Hazelrigg, reported that he has three black employees—two drivers and one pick-up person in the solid waste department.[49] The city engineer reported he had one black employee out of a staff of nine. He had not hired a new person, he said, in the past 1-1/2 years. Although in the past he had used word of mouth, should a vacancy occur he proposes to advertise.[50] The superintendent of public works-utilities reported 1 black employee out of a total of 55.[51] The police department has had a black police officer and a black meter maid. Both have since left the force.[52] However, the head of the auxiliary police is black.[53]

On November 9, 1977, the Callaway County court approved an affirmative action plan. This was done primarily to comply with HUD requirements for a grant awarded under the community development block grant program. Presiding Judge Paul Murphy told the local newspaper, "We have actually been practicing affirmative action for a long time. We just went on the record at this time."[54] The other elected officials also signed the document, agreeing not to discriminate in their hiring or in appointments to committees, task forces, or other positions.[55] No monitoring mechanism was indicated. In January 1978, at the urging of the NAACP, the court hired a black secretary, using Federal money to fund the position.[56] The county employs a second black secretary under the CETA public service employment program.[57] There are no black workers on the road crew.[58] One black applicant for a county job reported that he applied for a foreman's post, for which he was qualified as a former contractor, but was interviewed for a job as a carpenter.[59] The NAACP also asked that a black deputy sheriff be hired.

The post office is a traditional source of employment for blacks. Donald W. Roberts, the postmaster in Fulton, stated that of 20 full- and part-time employees, there is one full-time black clerk and a part-time black custodian. Mr. Roberts noted that the post office does have an affirmative action plan that requires him to recruit actively to fill vacancies. He must solicit applicants for the new postal examination in the newspapers, radio, and on post office bulletin boards. But, he noted, there were no minorities on the current list of eligibles.[60]

Dorothy Mottaz, the local representative of the Missouri Job Service, told staff that prior to 1973 Callaway County residents had to commute to Jefferson City or Columbia to apply for employment, but the work force which was 13,500 in 1973 had jumped to 19,000 by June 1978. She said that there are not enough jobs for everyone—at least at decent wages. Some people, she reported, came to the county looking for work on the power station but have had to take work in food service, which is the county's biggest industry. She reported that clerical jobs are scarce.[61]

Employment Service Automated Retrieval System (ESARS) data show that the bulk of white and black applicants are seeking domestic work. Whereas the largest concentrations of white applicants other than domestic workers are in clerical and sales work, the largest concentrations of black applications are in transportation and structural work.[62] There is no significant difference in the service provided white applicants and that provided blacks (who were 7.8 percent of all who applied and 7.3 percent of all who were placed).[63] The proportion of blacks seeking work via the job service is clearly greater than the proportion of blacks in the labor force. This suggests the labor force data may understate availability and that blacks in Callaway County do face obstacles to employment not encountered by whites.

[48] Evelyn Hopkins, interview in Fulton, Mar. 28, 1978.
[49] Frank Hazelrigg, interview in Fulton, Mar. 28, 1978.
[50] Bernard Browning, interview in Fulton, Mar. 28, 1978.
[51] John Bates, interview in Fulton, Mar. 29, 1978.
[52] W.W. Lewis, telephone interview, Oct. 10, 1978.
[53] W.C. Murphy, interview in Fulton, Nov. 10, 1977.
[54] Candace Kacena, "County Signs Affirmative Action Pact," *Fulton Daily Sun-Gazette*, Nov. 10, 1977.
[55] Leigh Elmore, "County Enters Agreement for Affirmative Action Plan," *Kingdom Daily News*, Nov. 10, 1977.
[56] Jack McBride, interview in Jefferson City, Mo., Mar. 29, 1978.
[57] George Carrington, Callaway County clerk, interview in Fulton, June 29, 1978.
[58] Judges Murphy, Sundermeyer, and Harvey, interview in Fulton, Mar. 28, 1978.
[59] Elvin Richmond, interview in Fulton, Mar. 28, 1978.
[60] Donald W. Roberts, interview in Fulton, June 29, 1978.
[61] Dorothy Mottaz, interview in Fulton, June 29, 1978.
[62] Employment Service Automated Reporting System (ESARS), Mar. 31, 1978, for Fulton local office, table 96.
[63] Employment Service Automated Reporting System (ESARS), Mar. 31, 1978, for Fulton local office, table 6.

8. Public Services

The U.S. Fifth Circuit Court of Appeals held in a 1972 Mississippi case, *Hawkins v. Town of Shaw* (437 F.2d 1286, *aff'd* 461 F.2d 1171), that it is unlawful for a local government to discriminate in the provision of services on the basis of race. The statements by the city of Fulton in its 1978 preapplication for a community development block grant indicate that such discrimination or neglect has occurred in the past. Some would contend that were it not for the vigilance of a few black leaders, such discrimination would still be evident. Only recently has the city of Fulton indicated a commitment to undoing the legacy of past inequalities in street services. The equality of swimming facilities has been challenged. The equality of police protection is also debated. Wilma Jones, fourth ward council member, asserts that in the past "mismanagement, neglect, apathy, inertia and/or prejudice have caused the [predominantly black] fourth ward not to receive its fair share of city services."[1]

A recent conflict in provision of municipal services surrounded the paving of Westminster Avenue, a main street for traffic going through Fulton but also an important street in the black community. South Westminster Avenue had been repaved by the city prior to 1978. The predominantly white residents of the neighborhood were not charged for these repairs, which were done with gas tax, general revenue, and Federal revenue sharing funds, on the ground that the street is used primarily by through traffic.

Traditionally, homeowners pay a portion of the cost of such repairs. In April 1977 the city proposed to repave the northern portion of Westminster Avenue, where the homeowners are predominantly black. The city proposed to assess black residents for the costs. One black leader noted that when blacks challenged the council as to why whites had not been charged, they were told it was an oversight.[2] One city council member, Thane Olsby, noted that the repaving of Westminster Avenue adjacent to black homes was long overdue. When asked what the delay represented, he said lethargy and not actively pursuing Federal funds.[3] In fact, Federal road funds are fully committed elsewhere in the city.[4]

Council member Wilma Jones was told that north Westminster Avenue repairs had been promised 2 years earlier but were never started "because of politics."[5] Ms. Jones, whose ward includes the black community, noted that the black neighborhood is a typical forgotten southern black community. Only belatedly, she stated, is it getting the attention it needs.[6] Former council member Willard Glover noted that over the years more improvements had been made in the three predominantly white wards. He claimed that funds had not been allocated equally. However, he said, in the last 2 or 3 years the black community has received equal services, albeit not enough to redress past inaction.[7] Former city engineer Bernard Browning agreed that streets in the black neighborhood had been neglected in the

[1] Wilma Jones, letter to staff, Oct. 31, 1978.
[2] Clarence Davis, interview in Fulton, June 29, 1978.
[3] Thane Olsby, interview in Fulton, June 27, 1978.
[4] T. Wilcox, city engineer, interview in Fulton, Sept. 13, 1978.
[5] Wilma Jones, letter to staff, Oct. 31, 1978.
[6] Wilma Jones, interview in Fulton, Nov. 11, 1977.
[7] Willard Glover, interview in Fulton, Nov. 17, 1977.

past. But, he contended, "it is a sign of the times" that this neglect is now being remedied.[9] The city council finally agreed to use general revenue sharing funds in lieu of charging the homeowners to repair the portion of Westminster Avenue in the black part of town.[9] This occurred only after the homeowners protested. They were responsible for the agreement.[10]

But there are still complaints. Council member Russell Logan noted that the department of public works seemed to be working all over town and this scattering of resources was delaying completion of Westminster Avenue repairs. He felt they were dragging their feet.[11] As of the end of October 1978, the repairs were not yet complete.[12]

Work on other deficiencies in municipal services in the black neighborhood, such as sidewalks and storm sewers, has been delayed because the city did not receive its community development block grant.[13] But city council member Wilma Jones contends that the city is moving and will continue to move to correct past neglect.[14] Former Mayor Murphy stated that the city had not provided services such as sidewalks in the past because absentee landlords did not want to pay for them. The city was reluctant to impose such services, since the present black homeowners could not afford the charges.[15] But Wilma Jones contended this was also due to former Mayor Murphy's reluctance to accept Federal funds and the controls he saw that went with them.[16]

A far more complex issue is the state of two swimming pools built in the middle 1950s, one in the black and one in the white community. During the summer of 1976, Carver pool, located in the black community, was closed, presumably because it needed substantial repairs, while the similarly deficient "white" pool was repaired and open. The director in charge resigned in January 1977. Wilma Jones wrote that:

> In April 1977 revenue sharing monies allocated in the 1976 budget were again allocated to parks and recreation (this is in addition to 1977 revenue sharing monies) with the express purpose of opening *both* pools. [emphasis in original] Only city pool was opened. (The responsible director resigned in February 1978.) In 1978, both pools were open. Carver was opened a month late.[17]

Some leaders, black and white, thought that the two pools should be closed and a single, larger pool built to serve the entire community.[18]

Fulton city government has operated the town's utilities since the 1930s. Policy is made by the public utilities board, subject to city council approval. The director of the city public utilities department, John Bates, stated that some blacks living in rental property have higher utility bills than the average white because their homes have less insulation. Mr. Bates said that utilities are not cut off more in the black community than elsewhere.

The Advisory Committee did not review the provision of services by the county's road crew. The county's community development block grant activities have been summarized earlier.

One black observer stated that she agreed with others who believe that the police drive through the black community and do not see anything, "like a horse with blinders." She said that while black residents have occasionally given the police "a hard time," she thinks the police are basically afraid of the black community.[19] A deputy sheriff noted that the city police have trouble communicating with blacks. He said they do not take the time to talk to black residents and never get to know the people.[20] Another observer noted that police go out of their way to avoid passing through the black neighborhood when going to the city garage.[21]

The issue of police protection was raised primarily in the context of a basketball court located in the black community. The facts are not disputed, although what should be done has been debated in both the black and white communities. A city park basketball court located in the black neighborhood is heavily used by black youths for basketball, but it is also the site of much gambling and drinking. When it was first built, youths in the area could control the lighting. Now the lighting is controlled by the city.

[9] Bernard Browning, interview in Fulton, Mar. 28, 1978.
[9] Wilma Jones, interview in Fulton, Nov. 11, 1977.
[10] Wilma Jones, letter to staff, Oct. 31, 1978.
[11] Russell Logan, interview in Fulton, Mar. 28, 1978.
[12] Wilma Jones, letter to staff, Oct. 31, 1978.
[13] George Oestreich, telephone interview, Aug. 24, 1978.
[14] Wilma Jones, telephone interview, Dec. 26, 1978.
[15] W.C. Murphy, interview in Fulton, Sept. 13, 1978.
[16] Wilma Jones, interview in Fulton, Mar. 28, 1978.
[17] Wilma Jones, letter to staff, Oct 31, 1978.
[18] Thane Olsby, interview in Fulton, June 27, 1978; Robert H. Bullock, interview in Fulton, Nov. 11, 1977; Jack McBride, interview in Fulton, Nov. 17, 1977.
[19] Olie Johnson, interview in Fulton, June 29, 1978.
[20] Jim Wilson, interview in Fulton, Mar. 28, 1978.
[21] John Cave II, interview in Fulton, Mar. 28, 1978.

Some community residents think the court should be closed, but others feel that the problem is the failure of the city, especially the police, to supervise activities in the park.[22]

Council member Russell Logan complained that the police have been unwilling to enforce the law at the basketball court or elsewhere in the black community, but he acknowledged that the black community has been reluctant to sign a formal complaint.[23] He attributed this reluctance, in part, to the requirement that anyone calling the police must post a bond of $5 before the police will take action—to ensure that a written complaint is filed. Council member Logan doubts this is legal and disapproves of the practice.[24] However, James Lewis, a black "top machinist" at Harbison-Walker, stated that he approves of the charge because it ensures the complainant will follow through after the police pick up an offender.[25] The city council states that, "No bond is required or has been required. . .to have a police officer answer a call anywhere. A bond may be required if a formal complaint is lodged."[26]

There have been complaints of police abuse of blacks. In one incident, the police have been accused of unreasonable detention in connection with an auto theft charge.[27] William Morgan, chairman of the police committee of the city council, told staff he was not aware of any specific incidents involving abuse. He noted that lack of enforcement in the fourth ward is more of a problem.[28]

Part of the problem in police-community relations is the absence of any black patrolmen. The chief of police stated that he had contacted both Jack McBride of the NAACP and Rudolph Sanderson, a black who heads the auxiliary officers, for applicants and that although several had applied, none came back for testing and interviews. Chief Lewis said, "I can't make them apply or come back for the interview if they don't want the job." He believes black reluctance is due to the availability of better paying jobs in the refractories. He stated that the highway patrol had also sought black applicants but found none.[29] A black observer noted that there had been black police officers in the past,[30] and another noted that the local troop of the highway patrol now has a black officer.[31] Despite concern from some black leaders that blacks do not want to be policemen,[32] six of the eight auxiliary policemen are black.[33]

John Cave II reported that several years ago the then circuit judge imposed sentences on blacks that were out of proportion to the offenses. He noted that the St. Louis branch of the ACLU had become involved and that this practice had ceased with the selection of a new judge. He commented that it would be more equitable if the present practice of giving the arresting officer discretion as to the amount of bail bond were altered to a fixed bonding schedule based on the offense and the past record of the offender.[34]

By contrast with these problems, the Callaway County sheriff's department reports that it has no trouble riding through the black community, serving papers, or making arrests. The sheriff, Vollie Salmons, noted that he had always carried the predominantly black fourth ward in elections.[35] One of his deputies believed this good relationship was possible because the sheriff and his deputies took the time to get to know the people in the black community.[36] One black community leader noted that the sheriff and his deputies do not get the cooperation they need from the city police.[37]

In short, in the provision of many essential municipal services, the equality of provision or access has been questioned both by the black community and by other knowledgeable persons.

[22] Wilma Jones, interview in Fulton, Mar. 28, 1978; Clarence Davis, interview in Fulton, June 29, 1978.
[23] Russell Logan, interview in Fulton, Mar. 28, 1978.
[24] Ibid.
[25] James Lewis, interview in Fulton, June 29, 1978.
[26] George L. Oestreich, letter to staff, Dec. 19, 1978.
[27] Wilma Jones, interview in Fulton, Mar. 29, 1978.
[28] William Morgan, letter to staff, Dec. 18, 1978.
[29] W.W. Lewis, interview in Fulton, Mar. 29, 1978.
[30] Sandra Patton, interview in Fulton, June 28, 1978; interview in Fulton, June 29, 1978.
[31] Ollie Johnson, interview in Fulton, June 27, 1978.
[32] Russell Logan, interview in Fulton, Mar. 28, 1978, and Jack McBride, interview in Fulton, Nov. 17, 1977.
[33] William Kennett, interview in Fulton, Mar. 28, 1978.
[34] John Cave II, interview in Fulton, Mar. 28, 1978.
[35] Vollie Salmons, interview in Fulton, Mar. 28, 1978.
[36] Jim Wilson, interview in Fulton, Mar. 28, 1978.
[37] Mr. and Mrs. Cornell Pasley, interview in Fulton, Sept. 12, 1978.

9. Federally-Funded Programs

Since the Missouri Advisory Committee's last report on race relations in rural areas, a vast array of Federal programs have been developed. Moreover, as a consequence of Title VI of the 1964 Civil Rights Act, as amended, and similar provisions in the legislation establishing federally-funded programs, local governments are under an obligation to ensure equal treatment for minorities. In some programs, such as the community development block grant, local governments are required to ensure that the poor, especially minorities and women, receive service. The U.S. Commission on Civil Rights and the Missouri Advisory Committee have commented on the failure of Federal agencies to properly enforce nondiscrimination regulations.[1] The Advisory Committee thus sought information on both the beneficiaries of Federal funds and the extent to which Federal agencies have taken steps to ensure that minorities and women participate in the benefits.

The two largest Federal programs are general revenue sharing provided under the State and Local Fiscal Assistance Act, as amended, and the community development block grant funds provided under the Housing and Community Development Act discretionary grant program (discussed earlier). There have also been smaller grants by the Law Enforcement Assistance Administration (LEAA), and both city and county have utilized public service employees funded under the Comprehensive Employment and Training Act. But as a general rule the city has been reluctant to apply for Federal funding for which it is eligible. Some observers believe this is because leaders feel that to do so is to give Federal agencies a statutory basis for reviewing such things as equal opportunity. The current mayor has asserted that the city has never been reluctant to apply for Federal funds because of potential Federal review.[2]

Between July 1974 and December 31, 1976, neither the city nor the county expended any general revenue sharing funds on social services. The bulk of the county's funds (56.3 percent) was spent on the police, as was 11.6 percent of the city's funds. The bulk of the city's funds (68.5 percent) was spent on public transportation (mainly street repair), as was 33.5 percent of the county's funds. Health received 0.1 percent of the city's and 8.2 percent of the county's funds. Recreation programs got 1.1 percent of the city's funds.[3]

Estimated county expenditures in FY 1977 were broadly similar in pattern to those of the preceding years. During FY 1978 the city used its revenue sharing funds to repair the section of Westminster Avenue in the black neighborhood. The county and the city used portions of their revenue sharing funds to employ one black secretary in each jurisdiction, who subsequently would be transferred to their regular budgets. (These secretaries are not reflected in either the city or county equal opportunity reports discussed earlier.) The city also used some of its FY 1977 general revenue sharing funds to employ

[1] U.S., Commission on Civil Rights, *The Federal Civil Rights Enforcement Effort—1974*, vol. VI (November 1975); Missouri Advisory Committee, *General Revenue Sharing in St. Louis City and County* (February 1976).

[2] George Oestreich, letter to staff, Dec. 19, 1978.

[3] Data supplied by Callaway County and city of Fulton, on file in Central States Regional Office (CSRO) of the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights.

10 youths for 10 weeks in the summer, making sidewalk and gutter repairs in the black community.[4] For 1979 the city planned to use some revenue sharing money for senior citizens.[5] The city reports that during the past 2 years, city revenue sharing funds have been used to support SERVE projects, energy crisis intervention projects, and a halfway house (Crossroads).[6] The Office of Revenue Sharing has received no complaints about the use of general revenue sharing funds in either city or county.[7]

Both city and county also employed federally-funded public service employees under the "balance of State" Comprehensive Employment and Training Act program administered by the State. In November 1977 Fulton had five such employees who were used for "city parks beautifications." Three of these employees were black and one became a permanent city employee on the local payroll. In March 1978 there were four CETA-funded positions—two policemen and two laborers; all are white.[8] But blacks had been employed by the local CETA program earlier.[9] The county employed two court secretaries, three persons on the road maintenance crew, and one custodian using CETA public service funding. None of these employees were black. In the past black men had been employed on the road crew using CETA funds, but had "not worked out."[10]

Both city and county received Law Enforcement Assistance Administration funding for their police protection. Fulton received $20,915 in 1976–77 to pay part of the cost of a traffic vehicle, one radio, and 70 percent of two officers' salaries. For 1977–78 it received $1,692 for computer supplies. The county prosecutor's office received $41,666.56 to pay part of the salary of a special investigator between 1971 and 1977.[11]

Some black community leaders reported that black residents whom they thought qualified were unable to get Small Business Administration minority business loans, although the local community action agency had supported their applications.[12]

Earlier sections of this report have provided indications of the role played by the Mid-Missouri Council of Governments (Mid-MoCOG). In addition to its role as A–95 review agency, Mid-MoCOG provides much needed technical assistance to local governments by identifying grant sources, assisting with applications, and administering programs. The limitations of Mid-MoCOG have been outlined in the Advisory Committee's report, *Race Relations in Cooper County* (1979).

In its report on Title VI enforcement, published in 1975, the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights concluded that, generally speaking, enforcement was weak or nonexistent.[13] Neither Treasury's Office of Revenue Sharing nor LEAA have conducted onsite reviews that would verify that Title VI assurances have been observed in Fulton and Callaway County.[14] What provision of services has been made for minorities has been entirely dependent on decisions taken at the local level. The limitations of these efforts have not been questioned by the granting agencies.

[4] Jack McBride, letter to staff, received Sept. 12, 1977.
[5] *Kingdom Daily News*, June 28, 1978.
[6] George Oestreich, letter to staff, Dec. 9, 1978.
[7] Angela Jones, telephone interview, July 14, 1978.
[8] Evelyn Hopkins, Fulton city clerk, telephone interview, Jan. 29, 1979.
[9] Ibid., and Jack McBride, interview in Fulton, Dec. 11, 1978.
[10] Judges Paul Murphy, Boyd Harvey, and Chris Sundermeyer, interview in Fulton, Nov. 16, 1977.
[11] Data supplied by city of Fulton and Callaway County, on file in CSRO.
[12] Mr. and Mrs. Cornell Pasley, interview in Fulton, Sept. 12, 1977.
[13] U.S., Commission on Civil Rights, *The Federal Civil Rights Enforcement Effort—1974*, vol. VI (November 1975), pp. 756–817.
[14] Angela Jones, telephone interview, July 14, 1978; Barbara Difilippo, LEAA, telephone interview, July 11, 1978.

10. Conclusions

Thirty years ago Dollard wrote of a permanent and unchanging caste system in a southern rural town. Twenty years ago Frazier wrote of the reluctance of the black middle class to demand equal opportunity. Fifteen years ago Charles Kerr commented on race relations in Fulton. Ten years ago, the then president of the Rural Sociological Society wrote that blacks in rural areas must work within a more conservative tradition than their urban counterparts. Although Fulton is not the 1930s small southern town, nor are its black citizens as timid as their 1940s counterparts, some of the traits described by these scholars remain imbedded in Callaway County life in the late 1970s.

Blacks are now well represented on city boards and commissions. The new mayor has made a sincere effort to ensure that blacks are represented throughout the appointive bodies. The two council members from the fourth ward, Russell Logan and Wilma Jones, have ably represented the black community's interests. But blacks are totally unrepresented at the upper reaches of either city or county government. The reemergence of the city's human relations commission could prove a boon to effective community relations, provided that body is given sufficient authority to make it a credible force. Similar action has not been taken by the county.

So long as the proportion of black families in need of housing assistance is greater than the proportion of white families in need of such help, open housing alone will not assure equality of housing opportunity. There have been no allegations of discrimination in public housing, but some still contend that "open housing" is not yet a complete reality. In the past the city has used Federal funds to provide public housing. Now the city has experienced some difficulty in getting Federal funds to deal with current housing problems in the black neighborhood.

The schools have been desegregated, without the termination of black teachers and administrators that so often accompanied pupil desegregation elsewhere. Black students are a larger proportion of those suspended than they are of the student population. The district acknowledges that it needs more black teachers to cope with communications problems between black and white students and between students and administrators.

Employment opportunities for blacks in Callaway County in 1978 were certainly greater than they were in nearby Audrain County in 1963. But only in the State institutions and Callaway County Hospital are black men and women well represented in administrative, professional, or technical jobs. Only recently have black women been able to get clerical jobs with either city or county government. Word-of-mouth and other methods, which do not ensure that blacks know about available jobs, remain the principal methods of recruitmant.

The legacy of discrimination in the provision of city and county services to the black community is evident from the narrative in the city's housing and community development block grant application. The city is now actively seeking Federal funds to equalize facilities. It has already begun using some general revenue sharing and gas tax funds to undo the past neglect. The Mid-Missouri Council of

Governments has provided technical assistance for local initiatives.

Most of the white leaders interviewed believe that race relations in Fulton are harmonious and that blacks are treated equally in the schools, in housing, in consideration for jobs, and in the provision of city, county, and federally-funded services. Their view is shared by some blacks for whom the system has proved beneficial. But others would contend that passivity is not a measure of contentment.

Inevitably the charge will be made by local boosters that the Advisory Committee's report has negated much that Fulton has accomplished and has caused harm to race relations there.

The foregoing report, while critical of official inaction, is not an indictment of the town and its surrounding county. The Advisory Committee has been careful to point out progress in race relations where it has observed some. The new mayor and council have taken steps to improve black participation in government and plan further action to improve the lot of black citizens.

The Advisory Committee has tried to be even-handed, testing with equal scrutiny allegations made by blacks as well as whites. It has attempted simply to reflect the current racial situation in light of the information it was able to elicit. But because Fulton and Callaway County are run almost exclusively by whites, the burden of improvement must rest disproportionately with them.

Another source of irritation may derive from the report's having been written from a minority perspective. Typically, communications flow in only one direction: from the dominant white establishment to whomever it wishes to contact. Much too little opportunity to react is afforded the powerless, especially the minority community. The present report is a small effort to right that imbalance. It is the Advisory Committee's hope that a major consequence of the report will be a white leadership more sensitive to minority concerns and a better structure for constructive, two-way communication. Toward that end, the following recommendations are made.

11. Findings and Recommendations

Race Relations

Finding 1: The Advisory Committee found that the city ordinance implementing the Fulton Commission on Human Rights and Community Relations fails to define or outlaw discrimination and does not set forth remedies and penalties. The commission can only deal with complaints forwarded to it by the mayor and the city council.

Recommendation 1a: The Advisory Committee urges the city council to declare by city ordinance that practices of racial discrimination in employment and public accommodations shall be unlawful. This will require a definition of discriminatory practices, assignment of penalties, and delegation of authority for implementation. The city should consult with the Missouri Commission on Human Rights in drafting an appropriate ordinance.

Recommendation 1b: The Advisory Committee urges that citizens be allowed to file complaints with the Fulton Commission rather than going through the city council.

Housing and Community Development

Finding 1: The Advisory Committee noted that as early as 1970 the city of Fulton was aware of inequalities in the quality of housing available to its black citizens. It further notes that only in 1969 did the community leaders take action to end illegal segregation in the sale and rental of housing. Despite this history, the city made little effort until recently to improve the opportunity for black families to obtain decent housing. Only in 1977 were efforts made to provide more adequate streets and sidewalks in the black neighborhood comparable to those provided to white neighborhoods. However, the Advisory Committee notes that the failure of the Department of Housing and Urban Development to fund the city's community development program has limited what can be done.

Recommendation 1: The Advisory Committee urges the city to persist in its efforts to obtain funding from all possible sources to improve the quality of life in Fulton, particularly in the disadvantaged, predominantly black, residential areas. Such efforts should include negotiations with HUD at the regional and national levels to ensure that the city's application will be competitive. The city should also review its local resources to see whether additional funds can be made available from these as the foundation for State and Federal grants.

Schools

Finding 1: The Advisory Committee found that the Fulton schools are desegregated. However, it notes the reports of continued problems in communication between the black community and the schools.

Recommendation 1: The Advisory Committee recommends that the Fulton School District employ the services of school desegregation experts such as the Missouri State Department of Education's technical assistance unit for school desegregation and the Midwest Race and Sex Desegregation Assistance Center located at Kansas State University in Manhattan.

Finding 2: The Advisory Committee notes the difficulty experienced by Fulton in hiring black

teachers, despite the acknowledged need for more black teachers and administrators.

Recommendation 1: The Advisory Committee recommends that the Fulton School District go outside the mid-Missouri area, if necessary, in its efforts to recruit qualified black teachers and administrators. Experience elsewhere has shown that recruiting several black teachers at once, rather than only one at a time, is more effective with respect to retaining them.

Employment

Finding 1: The Advisory Committee study shows that minorities still do not have the same job opportunities that are available to whites.

Recommendation 1: The Advisory Committee recommends that all employers develop effective affirmative action programs. Where they find that minorities and/or women are underutilized, either in their total work force or in specific job categories, employers should develop goals and timetables for correcting that pattern of underutilization.

Finding 2: The Advisory Committee found that the city has not finalized an affirmative action plan. Neither city nor county have developed mechanisms to monitor their plans.

Recommendation 2a: The city should adopt a final affirmative action plan and delegate monitoring authority over its affirmative action plan to the Fulton Commission on Human Rights and Community Relations.

Recommendation 2b; With mutual consent of city and county, the county should delegate monitoring authority over its affirmative action plan to the Fulton Commission on Human Rights and Community Relations.

Public Services

Finding 1: The Advisory Committee notes the long history of neglect of the black neighborhood's public services as well as present efforts by the city of Fulton to bring about improvements. The city recognizes more must be done.

Recommendation 1: The Advisory Committee recommends that the city explore ways to maximize the allocation of local funds and municipal construction efforts in the western part of Fulton.

Police

Finding 1: The Advisory Committee notes the marked contrast between the good rapport of the black community and the sheriff's department and the poor relations between the black community and the city police.

Recommendation 1: The Advisory Committee recommends that the city police department, through the Fulton Commission on Human Rights and Community Relations, undertake a variety of community relations programs to improve this relationship.

Federal Funds

Finding 1: The Advisory Committee notes that the city of Fulton has spent increasing amounts of Federal revenue sharing funds on social programs that benefit minorities, women, and the disadvantaged. The county has spent some of its revenue sharing funds on health programs.

Recommendation 1: The Advisory Committee recommends that both city and county continue to increase the proportion of general revenue sharing funds expended on programs that directly benefit minorities, women, and the disadvantaged.

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